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INIQUITY IN HIGH PLACES

AS REVEALED
IN THE

American—Spanish—Filipino
Wars of 1898, 1899

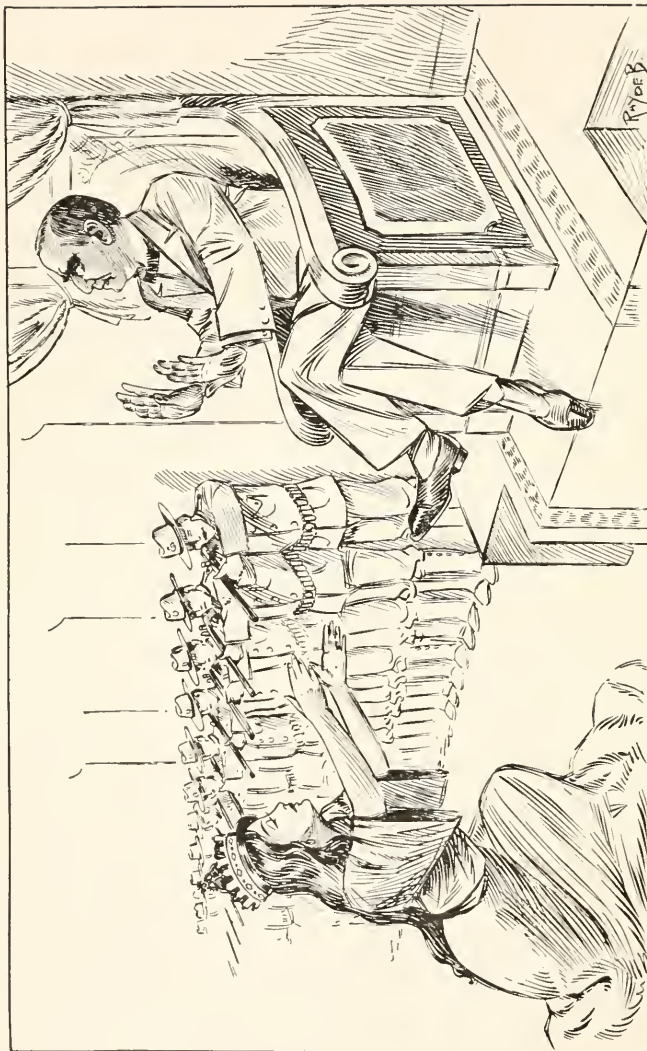
AND

SUBSEQUENT YEARS

BY

HENRY CLAY KINNE

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.



THE DISTRESSED QUEEN OF SPAIN VAINLY BEGGING FOR MERCY FROM WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

No! No! I must make votes for my re-election; and to make votes I must slaughter your people and rob you of your possessions.
See Page 242 of "Iniquity in High Places" for telegraphic correspondence between William McKinley and Stewart L. Woodford, under date of April 5, 1898.

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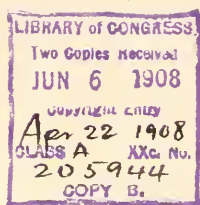
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PUGNACITY A PRIMARY AND ESSENTIAL TRAIT
OF ALL ANIMALS, MAN INCLUDED.

The Evolution of Pugnacity.

Transport a block of granite from the earth and leave it upon the surface of the moon, and it might remain there for unnumbered ages without any appreciable change in its substance or appearance. Take a bright sword-blade or a polished steel mirror and leave it upon the moon and it would undergo no alteration in the lapse of any period of Time. As there is no air or water in the moon there is nothing to oxidize or corrode the surface of the steel, and it would therefore remain as immune from deterioration or decomposition as if sealed up in a vacuum. But take a plant or an animal from the earth to the moon and the plant or animal would immediately perish. All organic life, whether animal or vegetable, requires for its development and maintenance the constant absorption and assimilation of external elements. Air and water and food are indispensable. And it follows as a matter of course that the organism must have the faculty of selecting the needful elements in order to supply its wants. The plant sends its roots through the soil and, by a cunning chemistry that no man can imitate and no man can fathom, extracts therefrom the materials which give the beautiful tints to the flower, which give the deli-

cious flavor to the fruits, which give the nutritious qualities to the grain. And not less mysterious and wonderful are the processes by which the digestive organs of the animal draw from its food the substances required for the building up of the body and the repairing of its wastes. And it further appears that as a matter of absolute necessity the animal organism must not only have the faculty but also the disposition to appropriate external elements. If there were no sensation of hunger the animal would not eat. If there were no sensation of thirst the animal would not drink. The disposition to appropriate for the use of self is the indispensable and eternal groundwork of all animal existence. It is also the eternal groundwork of eternal strife in the animal kingdom. The animal organism, inspired by selfishness and greed, and eager to gratify its appetites and desires, finds itself surrounded and jostled by a multitude of other organisms, all actuated by the same motives and striving for the same ends.

The moment two primitive animal organisms make a simultaneous attempt to appropriate one and the same article of food there arises a conflict of interests which speedily culminates in a resort to violence and force. The constant recurrence of these scenes of violence would naturally and inevitably develop a spirit of pugnacity, a disposition to fight. And as the animal organism in the process of evolution rose to a higher plane of life this spirit of pugnacity would grow with its growth and strengthen with its strength

until it became an essential and inseparable part of its being. It is probable that as soon as the animal organism became conscious of its own existence and of the existence of other animal organisms the struggle between them commenced. In the order of development of the faculties of the animal organism the disposition to fight must have followed very closely upon the heels of the disposition to eat. Even if from the dawn of creation to the present time all the animals of the world had subsisted upon nothing but vegetable food a spirit of pugnacity would nevertheless have been developed. As in the mad and selfish struggle to escape from a burning theater people will fight and strike down and trample each other to death so in the rush of animals for food they would attack and drive and rob each other of the coveted prize.

But animals do not subsist solely on vegetable food. It would seem to be as natural for animals to devour each other as to devour the herbage that covers the plains. The first animal germ that absorbed the first vegetable cell may in turn have been the subject of absorption by animal germ No. 2. Beasts of the forest and birds of the air and fish of the sea subsist largely if not wholly by destroying and devouring the lower and weaker members of the animal kingdom. This condition of things intensifies the strife that pervades the entire animal world, and makes the life of the animal one of constant attack or constant attempts at defense where defense is possible. Pug-

nacity, therefore, the disposition to fight, the disposition to violence, the disposition to kill, becomes a universal trait. Its manifestations are visible on every hand. The worm will turn when trod upon. Break open the egg of the snapping turtle and the infant reptile therein enshrined will meet you with open jaws. The barefoot boy who jumps upon the anthill knows that if he stands still for a moment a swarm of the pugnacious little insects will fasten themselves upon his cuticle with relentless grip. The bee and the scorpion have their sting. The serpent has his hollow fang and his sack of venom. The rooster has his sharp spur with which to strike his opponent. The wild boar has his strong tusk growing at right angles to his upper jaw with which to disembowel his antagonist by a side stroke of his head. The bull has his formidable horn wherewith to gore his rival. Beaks and claws and teeth are universal weapons.

The fact that animals are furnished with natural weapons shows that there was an antecedent necessity for the use of weapons. All the members of the animal's body are developed in response to natural wants. Thus the animal needs nutrition. Therefore it has teeth for mastication and a stomach for digestion of food. The animal needs locomotion. Therefore it has legs to walk on land, wings to fly through air, fins to swim in the sea. The animal needs vision. It therefore has eyes. The animal's blood needs oxygenation. It therefore has lungs. Looking back from effect to cause we may say that the fact that

the animal is provided with natural weapons proves, to make use of common language, that animals are born to fight, that animals are expected and intended to fight. This must be true of animal life wherever found. Traverse the realms of space and visit every one of the millions of heavenly bodies within the range of telescopic vision and wherever you find a world teeming with diversified animal life you will find the same condition of affairs as prevails on this planet. Universal greed begets universal strife.

Howard A. Burrell, editor of the Washington (Iowa) Press, in his issue of May 22, 1901, discourses on this subject with sound philosophy and in pithy phrase:

“DOG EAT DOG.

“If living creatures were to exist at all, one cannot
“doubt the wisdom of the Creator in arranging that
“they should prey on each other, race living on race.
“How could it be managed in any other way than
“in this cruel, bloody fashion, if their propagation
“was to be as rapid and prodigal as we see it is?
“One bird must live on another kind of bird, one
“bug on another, the bird's claws and beak against
“insects, one animal eating another, snakes after
“frogs, toads and birds, hogs after snakes, Ladybug
“feasting on San José scale, and so on all down the
“line, *ad infinitum*, chew, chew, chew! It must be
“that way, or the world would speedily come to an
“end by being eaten out of house and home.

“And the same tendency in men, one preying on
“another, all gouging, cheating, stealing, sponging,
“destroying; burglars, thieves, freebooters, pirates,
“parasites, swindlers, gamblers, murderers; lying in
“horse trades, deceiving in love, betraying trusts,
“every fellow for himself and devil take the hind-
“most. Expensive human races; one race living on
“another; raiding, conquering, enslaving, stealing
“provinces, exterminating the native possessors.

“Men and animals are alike. Men belongs to nat-
“ural history as truly as the inferior animals; they
“hunger and thirst and must rest and sleep, alike;
“digestion the same in each and all. The same sel-
“fish, brutal instincts in all.

“Right here, Christianity—the *real* thing, not the
“bastard, perverted thing so-called sometimes, but
“which, in the guise of ecclesiasticism, is as rapacious
“and cruel and wicked as any other human institu-
“tion,—right here real Christianity steps in to make
“a moral cleavage in the animal kingdom by differ-
“entiating man from the beast, changing his base
“instincts into benevolent intention, and inspiring him
“to lead a righteous, instead of a predatory, life. We
“all know many people, here and there, who have
“been thus changed, but the ameliorating effect on
“nations, as such, is hardly visible. The conquest of
“India, the carving up of Africa, the threatened dis-
“memberment of China, the treatment of our Indians
“and Negroes,—all these social and political and
“military phenomena show nothing but fangs and

“claws. There is many an Individual Christian, but
“the Christian Nation does not exist. Not one. In
“its morals and ‘applied Christianity’ there is not one
“that lives up to any standard of conduct or code of
“ethics above those which prevail in the lair, the
“swamp, the jungle, the veldt, the wilderness. The
“earth is still the habitation of cruelty.”

In the opening acts of this horrid drama of chaos and bloody contention the germ of the human animal was launched upon its career, side by side with the germs of other animal forms, and presumably indistinguishable from them in powers and functions and characteristics. The human germ lived as other animal germs lived, thrived as other germs thrived, developed as others developed, fought as others fought, devoured as others devoured, propagated as others propagated, died as others died. For untold ages the human germ must have been in a condition of incipient, unfinished beasthood, probably cannibalistic, knowing nothing of the ties of kindred, yet possessing a pugnacity and a force that enabled it to hold its ground against the enemies that beset it on every side. But as millions upon millions of years rolled away the ceaseless workings of the law of differentiation wrought out results that we now witness. Man is still an animal. He is of earth, earthy. He is first cousin to the tiger, the wolf, the hyena, the hog. Every beastly trait of the brute creation is mirrored forth with more or less distinctness in man's nature. Man is a fighting animal. He strikes with his fists. He

clinches and rolls upon the ground like a bulldog. He fastens his grasp upon the throat and throttles and strangles. He knocks out teeth. He gouges out eyes. He bites off noses. He tears off ears. His monkey-like prehensile power, his ability to use that wonderful mechanism, the hand, in grasping sticks and stones, renders it unnecessary for him to resort to a mode of fighting that would develop horns or tusks or spurs, or that would lengthen and harden his claws or strengthen and sharpen his teeth.

But man is not wholly bestial. Upon the solid and everlasting substructure of his animalism there have been reared the towering walls and the lofty turrets and pinnacles of a higher and nobler nature. He is credited with intellectual perceptions and faculties that enable him to understand his position and surroundings in the universe. He is credited with moral perceptions that enable him to determine his relations and his line of duty to his fellow-man. He is credited with spiritual perceptions and aspirations that ally him to his Creator. He has come up from the lower levels of the abyss of darkness in which he was born, and is now advancing on a pathway illumed by a radiance that is ever waxing brighter and clearer and purer. Whatever may be his individual shortcomings and backslidings the average man recognizes the fact that in all his relations and dealings with his fellow-man his actions should be governed by the law of love and not by the law of brute force,—not by the law of the beast. The average man realizes and

admits that the highest and purest earthly happiness is found in the possession and manifestation of a spirit of charity and humanity and fraternity and love. It is an age of benevolent impulse and beneficent deed. The human heart is a never-failing fountain of sympathy which overflows in behalf of the suffering wherever the suffering are to be found. A most noble philanthropy, keen and active, watches every nook and corner of the universe with Argus eyes, and with Briarean arms lays hold on every opportunity to minister to human wants and to mitigate human woes. It wipes out the bloody footprints of advancing armies; it assuages the horrors of the pestilence that walketh at noonday; it evicts and banishes the hollow-cheeked specter of famine; it raises new roofs over the ashes of conflagrations; it opens the doors of stately palaces to the deaf and the blind; it fills the mouths of the children that are fatherless; it visits the couch of sickness with healing draughts; it strikes the fetters from the limbs of the slave; it cleanses and ventilates the prisoner's cell; it smoothes the dying pauper's pillow; it shields the poor sailor from the captain's lash.

The model man of the day is one in whom the animal nature is overshadowed, overawed, restrained, subdued. The model man of the day counsels and cultivates peace and harmony and friendship and virtue and justice as the basis of all good and true society. The model man counsels and exercises patience and forbearance in dealing with the foibles and weaknesses of his fellow-men. He governs his ac-

tions by the Golden Rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so to them." He returns good for evil. He gives the soft answer that turneth away wrath. When he is reviled he reviles not again. When assailed by approbrious epithet he does not deem it incumbent upon him to resort to shooting to vindicate his "HONOR." He does not murder his neighbor. He does not maltreat or beat or maim or mutilate his neighbor. He does not rob his neighbor of his possessions. In short, it may be said that while occasional outcroppings of the animal substratum in human nature may be expected, nevertheless the broad theory in regard to the duties which man owes to his fellow-man and to society is clearly understood and accepted and approved.

We find, then, that in his social relations man has at least partially outgrown the pugnacity of the brute creation, and no longer countenances violence and bloodshed as a desirable accompaniment or incident of his daily life. But we shall further find that in his international, interracial, intertribal relations man is still a bloodthirsty beast.

BELlicosITY A SECONDARY AND DERIVATIVE TRAIT
PECULIAR TO THE HUMAN ANIMAL, AND NOT AF-
FECTING THE BRUTE CREATION.

The Evolution of Bellicosity.

Bellicosity, the love of war, the disposition to wage war, can only pertain to intelligent beings. Who

ever heard of the buffalo over an area of a hundred thousand square miles combining to kill off all the elk and the deer? Who ever heard of the bear over an area of a hundred thousand square miles combining to exterminate the wolves? Who ever heard of the lions over an area of a hundred thousand square miles combining to slaughter the tigers? Who ever heard of the elephants combining to wage war on the rhinoceroses?

War is beastliness aided and abetted and armed by intelligence. As the human animal for ages after its advent upon earth was nothing more nor less than a ferocious wild beast having no more intelligence than the brute creation, war, as we use the term, was impossible. The human animal, of course, like all other beasts of prey, was involved in ceaseless and sanguinary strife. It was constantly engaged in fighting and slaughtering and devouring other animals. It was probably engaged in fighting and slaughtering and devouring its own species. But in all these deeds of violence the individual human animal was an isolated unit. Its fighting was the spontaneous outbreak of its inherent ferocity manifesting itself, as opportunity accidentally occurred, without plan or method or premeditation, just as the fighting of the grizzly bear or wild bull is without plan or method or premeditation.

But the first glimmerings of intelligence were the precursor of a change. The ties of kindred began to exhibit strength. Father recognized son, brother rec-

ognized brother, relatives grouped themselves together and acted in unison and concert for attack or defense. Family relations expanded into tribal relations. Here were the faint and feeble beginnings of social evolution. Here was the forceful and vigorous beginning of war. It is probable that the very first manifestation of human intelligence consisted in the forming of combinations among the naked savages living in caves and holes in the ground on one side of a river or mountain for the purpose of crossing that river or mountain in order to attack and kill the naked savages living in caves or holes in the ground on the opposite side. From that day to this the keenest delight, the most intense, the most soul-absorbing delight of all mankind is found in slaughtering the people of another nation, race or tribe. A "glorious victory" invariably throws the people of any and every nation on earth into a paroxysm of uncontrollable joy. In all the interminable ages, reaching back beyond human calculation, the sun has never made a single daily circuit around the earth without looking down upon the smoking ruins of human habitations and the rotting carcasses of the human slain. But the pioneers in this work of eternal bloodshed did not call it "vindicating the national honor." They did not call it "adding new glory to the flag." They did not call it "opening a field for the spread of the Gospel." They did not even call it "planting an outpost for the extension of commerce." The primeval human beast did not indulge in the elegant circum-

locutionary phrase with which his descendants, our modern murderers, attempt to gloss over their iniquity. He simply killed.

But the passion for war, the wickedest, the most horrible, the most destructive of all the passions that affect the human race in its collective capacity, is of natural evolution. All the powers and qualities and traits and tendencies of every member of every species of the animate creation are of natural evolution. Thus the lion and the lamb may have sprung from precisely similar primitive germs; but as the one drifted into flesh-eating habits and the other into grass-eating there was a resulting difference between them in physical form and in temperament and disposition. In the lion were developed jagged teeth and long, sharp-pointed, solid, powerful fangs for tearing his victim's flesh. In the lamb the front teeth were merely an even row of smooth nippers for cropping the green herbage, while his back teeth were equally plain molars for grinding the same. The feet of the lion were armed with sharp claws to assist in his work of destruction. The feet of the lamb were simply incased in a shell of horn to withstand the wear and tear of daily travel. In disposition the lamb was timid, mild, gentle, harmless, the lion was ferocious, bloodthirsty, merciless and destructive in the highest degree. Side by side and step by step with the development of the lion's fangs and the lion's claws came the development of the lion's ferocity as a natural and inevitable sequence of his mode of life.

It would seem to be a law of evolution that all animals that subsist by slaughtering other animals, all beasts and birds of prey, become fierce and cruel in disposition. The same rule must apply to man. All men and all races of men constantly engaged in shedding human blood acquire an appetite for human blood, a thirst for human blood, a taste for human blood. As the human animal when it had no more intelligence than the brute creation was simply a beast of prey it must have had the ferocity characteristic of all beasts of prey. That ferocity the human animal carried over with it into the new era of dawning intelligence, and that ferocity, nursed and strengthened and perpetuated by ceaseless, eternal warfare and bloodshed, has been handed down to the present time and is now the dominant, controlling factor in the relations that subsist between the different nations, races and tribes of men on earth. The military puppet of today is executing his deeds of death in the Philippine Islands in obedience to an impulse coming down the wires from the ghost of the ferocious human wild beast of millions and millions of years ago. Every professional soldier on earth, everything in uniform on land or sea, is a reminiscence or a re-incarnation of primeval human gorillaism.

When human animals developed intelligence enough to gather in families and groups and tribes each of these groups was confronted and surrounded by other groups of human animals, as greedy and ferocious and merciless and murderous as themselves. Here was

war at once. Here was war on every hand,—at every point of the compass. The cradle of the human race was everywhere hopelessly shrouded and darkened by an eternal cloud of war. The primitive savage was constantly engaged in planning an attack upon his foes or in preparing for defense against them. He never lay down to sleep except with his war club and his stone hatchet by his side, ready, when awakened by the war-whoop of the enemy, to spring to his feet and seize his weapons with an answering yell. He was haunted by a mortal dread of powerful hereditary enemies living possibly at a distance of less than a day's journey. He was haunted by a relentless hate begotten of his mortal fear. He was possessed and stimulated by a quenchless thirst for blood begotten of his undying hate. As the human disposition was molded and shaped under these influences for countless ages every fiber and every atom, so to speak, of the human heart and human soul was permeated and saturated by a lust for human blood.

We here insert another editorial from the Washington (Iowa) Press:

“HUNTING.

“Hunting is a survival from the stone age, if not
“from an earlier period,—at any rate from an age
“when men needed to hunt wild flesh for food and
“for skins to clothe themselves withal. It was then
“an occupation, a necessity, not a sport or a pastime,
“as now. The passion got into human blood as an

“instinct, and survives. Men love the sport. It is
“healthful, invigorating, as it gives hard exercise in
“the open air, and the awful tire is wholesome. But
“we need not pretend we hunt with the primitive
“man’s motives. We kill for the love of it. Armed
“to the teeth by science and art, we give the other
“fellow in fur or feathers or scales no show. When
“early man had only a club or a stone, before he had
“a bow and arrows and spear or hook, and had to
“hunt for meat and clothes, or starve and freeze, he
“was as often hunted as hunting, and it was a risky,
“plucky business. Necessity justified the killing. It
“was root, hog, or die. We do not need to hunt
“now, but lots of men have sporting blood in them
“still, and sally forth with deadly guns, dogs, horses,
“boats, hooks, lines and flies, and wantonly kill for
“the fun of it, and resent any humanitarian criticism
“on the one-sided warfare, carried on hitherto to the
“total extinction of buffalo and other animals. They
“approve of game laws only as a means of prolong-
“ing the fun.

“If animal and man stood on an equality, as in the
“early ages, one could respect the game, but creatures
“now have no more show than have the miserable
“doomed bulls in the bull-rings of Spain and Mexico,
“and the chase is mere wanton slaughter, and is
“brutalizing.

“An animal, not needed for food, has as much
“right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness
“as a man has, and it is a sin to kill it, for sport,—

“to hook a fish to throw it back, or let it gasp its life
“out on land, and be wasted; to kill birds for the
“plumage to trick out vanity; to kill deer in wan-
“tonness—no one needs buckskin, and venison is of
“no account.

“It is cruel; it is useless slaughter; there’s nothing
“brave about it. And it so sets the hair on many
“people that they read with all due resignation of
“accidents to hunters. No less than twelve men,
“taken for deer in Maine woods, have been shot and
“five of them killed lately, and one is rather glad of
“it. They only got what they would give. The
“poetic justice of their fate would have been perfect
“if the deer had killed them instead of their erring
“fellows in the carnival of slaughter. What business
“had they hunting deer, whose flesh and skin they
“did not need? And there have been like fatalities
“in the Adirondacks.

“What right had Roosevelt to slaughter ‘lions’ in
“Colorado? They would not vote for him, any-
“how, or oppose him on the stump, either. He was
“driven by a surviving brutal instinct that has no
“right place in civilization. If he wanted to show
“his prowess, why didn’t he leave his gun and dogs,
“and tackle a lion alone, on equal terms? He weighs
“about as much as a lion, and has claws and teeth,
“if the caricaturists may be believed.

“Suppose a lot of angels*should come down here,
“armed with celestial shooting irons as much superior
“to ours as ours are to Indian tomahawks and Zulu

“spears, and should go gunning for us, how’d we like that? It would not be a bit funnier than a hunted bear turning to hunt a hunter. The average hunter sees no humor in that. Oh, but he makes time, and calls on all the gods, and hits the road, and thoroughly disapproves of hunting as a sport, when the bear is hunting him. The argument is unanswerable when the bear gets a move on him and racks, trots, paces and gallops toward the hunter. And the man of peace, observing the race, is like a hen-pecked husband who shouted, ‘Go it, Betsy! go it, bear.’ He didn’t care a cent which got it in the neck.”

There is a faint shade of semi-irreverence in the foregoing article which might create the impression that the writer is an anarchist. Such an impression would be entirely erroneous. The writer believes that the killing of bear and deer is an act of wickedness, but the killing of a Filipino is an act of holiness unto God. Such a noble and pious sentiment on his part marks him, of course, as a devoted patriot and devout Christian of the latest and most approved American stamp.

But the writer sets forth a truth that is most pertinent to our present discussion. He says that the long and desperate and doubtful warfare between the human animal and the different species of the brute creation—a warfare that did not turn in man’s favor till he had developed sufficient intelligence to manufacture deadly weapons—that this warfare re-

sulted in implanting in the human breast a passion for killing animals, a love for killing animals, and that this passion became an integral part of human nature and has been handed down for millions of years as a hereditary instinct and is now a leading characteristic of the human race. He is correct. We love to kill animals. We hook the trout and the pike and the perch. We shoot the lark and the robin and the dove. We kill the deer and the antelope. We clamber up the heights of the Alps to kill the chamois, and we skirt the shores of the Arctic to kill the walrus and the musk ox. We go to the Rocky Mountains to kill the bear and the elk, and we go to South Africa to kill the giraffe and the springbok and the hartebeest. Wealthy sportsmen traverse and re-traverse the face of the earth at great expense, simply for the pleasure of killing wild animals. The editor of the Press denounces this slaughter as prompted by a brutal instinct that has no rightful place in civilization.

But if the human animal by waging incessant and deadly warfare for countless ages upon the different species of the brute creation has developed a hereditary instinct that now prompts man to kill beasts, so has the human animal by waging incessant and deadly warfare for countless ages upon the members of his own species developed a hereditary instinct that now prompts man to kill man—of the other tribe or race or nation. The two instincts, the two impulses, the two passions, clearly reveal themselves in human nature. But the passion for killing men is vastly deeper

and stronger and more intensely exciting and absorbing than the passion for killing beasts. In former years a few Englishmen may have visited South Africa for the purpose of hunting beasts, but when South Africa afforded an opportunity for hunting *men* all England turned out a quarter of a million hunters, and expended a thousand million dollars in bagging the game, and broke out, from time to time, in national jubilee of wild, intoxicating joy over the successful progress of the work. The American people would have no special ambition, no earnest desire to expend money in killing wild beasts in the Philippine Islands, but the American people most promptly and most enthusiastically pay out fifty million dollars per annum for the pleasure of killing *men* in the Philippine Islands. The one hundred thousand notches in the butt of the American musket which indicate the number of the Filipino victims that have been slain are a source of pride and joy to the American Christian. Beasthood roots deeper than piety in the human heart. The teachings of Christ which have been productive of the greatest blessings ever vouchsafed to mankind are thrown to the winds whenever and wherever an excuse or pretext can be framed for engaging in the slaughter of our fellow-men. When war comes, by spontaneity or by machinations of wicked rulers, the human race speedily sheds its superficial veneering of civilization and stands out in all its naked barbarism and savagery and beastliness.

A tiger cub a few days old was caught in the jungles of India and taken by its captor to his home. It was fed on milk, and it thrived. It was as playful as a kitten. It grew up to its full size and was the pet of the household, roaming from room to room at its will. But one day a large piece of raw, bloody meat came in the tiger's way. With a roar that shook the building to its foundation the tiger sprang upon the meat, and seizing it in his jaws rushed out of the house and disappeared in the jungle. It is the nature of the beast. English and French soldiers have not exchanged shots on any battlefield since the days of Waterloo, nearly a hundred years ago. No living man knows anything of any war between England and France except as he gathers the facts from the page of history. During this long interval of peace there has been practically no difficulty and no occasion for animosity between the two countries. But if to-morrow all France knew to an absolute certainty that one month of war would result in the waving of the French flag in triumph over the ashes of London, in the waving of the French flag in triumph over the ashes of Liverpool, in the waving of the French flag over the ashes of Manchester and Birmingham, the whole French people, every man, woman and child, would spring to their feet and with a tiger roar that would shake the continent and shake the world, would rush to the slaughter. It is the nature of the beast. When William McKinley finally concluded that his grasp on political power would be

strengthened and perpetuated by plunging the country into a most iniquitous and most unnecessary war, he knew that the love of blood that pervades the entire human race and reigns supreme in the human heart would back him up and sustain him in any crime of that character he might propose to commit. He knew that if he let the American tiger loose that tiger would spring with fiendish joy at the throat of poor old, dying Spain, already lying prostrate and helpless on the ground, and already gasping for her last breath. It is the nature of the beast.

Let no one dream for a moment that these brutal instincts are susceptible of early eradication. All animal instincts are necessarily of the slowest growth. They must have required a period of time somewhat short of eternity for their development, and they would seem to have the quality of absolute permanence so long as the conditions that called them into existence remain. How long, think you, did it take the bee to develop the faculty and the instinct that prompts it to pump the honey from the flower into a reservoir in its own body, and then to disgorge that honey into the hexagonal waxen cells which it had previously manufactured for the storage of the fruits of its industry? How long would it take the bee to *unlearn* that instinct? How long did it take the spider to develop the faculty and the instinct that prompts it to throw its guy ropes, composed of exudations from its own body, from bush to bush and from twig to twig, and then to interweave and interlace these guy ropes with

filaments of fine webbing till a perfect snare was completed for the entanglement of its victims? How long would it take the spider to outgrow and forget this faculty and instinct? How long did it take the tiger to develop its fangs and claws, and the ferocious disposition which is the inevitable and inseparable accompaniment of fangs and claws? How long a time would be required to change the tiger's nature? If a number of tigers were securely confined in a given tract of country, and they and their descendants were fed on nothing but bread and milk for ten thousand generations they would not thereby be converted into lambs. If all war between human beings on earth were abolished forever, if all armies were disbanded and all navies and all implements of death were destroyed, there would still remain in the human heart that damnable lust for human blood. A million years of profound peace would not suffice to bleach that hellishness out of human nature.

But nevertheless we have evidence that animal instincts do undergo changes. In fact it would seem to be the law of evolution that a change of conditions continued for a period of time indefinitely vast will modify and remold the animal nature. The chicken at the doorstep must in the remotest ages have had a wild fowl for its progenitor which like all other wild fowls was capable of self-support; but the chicken has been domesticated for so long a time, and for so long a time has been dependent on man for protection and sustenance that if deprived of that protec-

tion and sustenance and turned adrift in forest or prairie it would speedily be destroyed or perish from starvation. The kitten at the fireside must have descended from a wild animal; but its ancestral fierceness of disposition has materially toned down, and it often exhibits positive affection for the members of the human household in which its instincts now lead it to make its home. But it is in man himself that the most remarkable development and changes have occurred. Time was when the human animal had no more mental acumen than an angleworm. Time was when the human animal had no more moral sense than a wild boar. Time was when the human animal had no more tender mercies or sweet sympathies than a shark. The mental and moral characteristics of the human race of to-day are an aftergrowth superinduced upon the original animal basis of the human being. In the presence of this aftergrowth the brutal instincts of the primeval human beast are not only partially overshadowed and concealed but they are also partially dwarfed and shriveled and weakened. From this circumstance we may take courage. We may confidently cherish the hope that in obedience to the law of progress the human race will yet rise to higher planes of action and to nobler, loftier and purer lines of sentiment. We are justified in entertaining optimistic views of the future and in believing that with the lapse of cycles upon cycles of time the human race will effect a still further escape from the taint of its original beasthood and will then regard

the wanton murder of the people of a neighboring nation as a crime as heinous as the wanton murder of the people of a neighboring house.

But we are discussing man as he is, and not man as he ought to be or will be. And we find that man has a dual nature, a double nature, a two-sided nature. One side of man is the domestic side, the social side, the civic side. The other side of man is the international, interracial, the intertribal side. On the one side of man are clustered all the virtues, all the graces, all the attainments, all the aspirations and attributes of what is called true manhood. On the other side, man is a bloodthirsty beast by direct and unbroken inheritance from the ferocious wild human beast, the primeval human gorilla of millions and millions of years ago. Of course, this two-sided nature dates back no farther than the period when man began to develop intelligence. Previous to that time the human animal was wholly and totally a wild beast—a wild beast through and through, a wild beast from core to cuticle.

But when the human animal began to recognize the ties of kindred the foundation was laid for the ultimate development of more or less of sympathy, of friendship, of harmony, of confidence and co-operation. In the spirit of mutual confidence leading to joint and co-operative effort lay the germ of future human progress and future human civilization. Whenever and wherever two or more primitive savages dug their holes or builded their rude huts side

by side it was with the tacit understanding, the implied agreement, that they were to respect each others' rights, to respect each others' lives and property. From such rude beginnings came all later civilization. The surface of the earth teems with evidence of the achievements of human hands when human animals had become sufficiently developed to work in community and co-operation. The Pyramids are an everlasting memorial of the industry, the toil, of myriads of men. Sweep away the drifting sands of Nubia or Mesopotamia and huge, prostrate pillars of marble or granite which once supported the roofs of magnificent temples will come to light. Strip off the rank tropic vegetation of Guatemala or Yucatan and you will find the outlines of great cities which were once the homes of busy and presumably thrifty populations. The impulse toward civilization manifested itself in ancient times in different and entirely isolated quarters of the globe. Its results are to be found not merely on the banks of the Nile and the shores of the Mediterranean, but they are to be found in India, in the domains of the Montezumas in Mexico, in the lands over which the Incas of Peru held mild and beneficent sway, in the distant and unknown regions of China and Japan. These developments seem to have been of entirely spontaneous and indigenous growth in the various countries in which they are found, thus showing that the tendency toward progress is universally inherent in the human race.

But the impetus given to the new arts of peace by the newly developed power of combination was rivaled if not eclipsed by the impetus given by the same power of combination to the practise of wholesale murder which is called war. If men could combine to work they could combine to fight. If the constructive energies of the race were called into existence and into activity under the new era of intelligence the destructive energies which had always had an existence during all the countless ages reaching back to the days of incipient, inchoate human beasthood were now quickened and vivified and endowed with greater strength for the accomplishment of their deadly work on wider and broader scale. If resources could be procured to maintain an army of workmen in building cities and temples and towers then resources could be procured to maintain an army of murderers in destroying cities and temples and towers with all the inhabitants thereof. Civilization would really seem to have been a stimulus, an adjunct to the horrid practise, the eternal practise of wholesale human slaughter.

Whenever a handful of savages gathered in a given locality and made homes for themselves they immediately became a target for attack. If they accumulated anything in the shape of worldly possessions they were still more liable to be struck down and destroyed by greedy, covetous, rapacious foes. The first and foremost and uppermost thought in the mind of all savages therefore, if not for aggres-

sion, was for escape from aggression or defense against aggression. Perhaps they climbed trees and built their nests as certain wild tribes in the tropical regions of the earth are said to do at the present day. Perhaps like the lake-dwellers of Switzerland they went out in the edge of the water and built huts upon piles. Perhaps like the cliff-dwellers of the Sierras they carved chambers out of the solid rock in the face of overhanging precipices as a last refuge from resistless and relentless enemies. Perhaps, and more commonly, they resorted to some rude system of fortification as a means of protection to their dwellings. And as the human animal advanced in intelligence, and his settlements became more populous and wealthy these rude fortifications became more elaborate and extensive till they took on the shape of lofty and solid walls. The building of these walls everywhere throughout the domains of ancient civilization are token and evidence of the existence of a spirit of eternal hostility between the different races and tribes of men. The Great Wall of China, 1500 miles in length, the most stupendous work of defense ever made by human hands, was erected for the purpose of preventing the irruptions of the fierce Tartars. The wall from sea to sea across the island of Great Britain was constructed by the Roman Emperor Severus with the intent to check the predatory incursions of the painted savages from the mountains in the north of Scotland. The wall of Babylon the Great, said to have been more than 50 miles in length

and more than 300 feet in height, and wide enough on the top for a roadway on which four chariots could drive abreast, was built in order to beat back the waves of war which from the north or the south, from the east or the west, were incessantly rolling over the area of Asia Minor. The Narragansett Indians surrounded their cluster of wigwams with a row of palisades as a means of security against the attacks of their dreaded aboriginal foes, or the attacks of the still more dreaded Puritanical saints. The ancient walled city was typical as well as evidential of man's two-sided nature. The city itself had a two-sided life. Within its walls there were homes. There were domestic ties. There were friendships. There were efforts for the cultivation of man's mental and moral nature. There were rules and regulations for the government of men's conduct in their dealings with each other. There were diversified arts and industries. There were the comforts, the luxuries, the amenities, the refinements of life. But the lofty battlements surrounding the city frowned defiance and challenged attack from merciless, murderous foe. The words of the poet are somewhat descriptive of the situation of the ancient city:

“Without, the world was wild with rage;
Unkenned demons were abroad;
But with the mother and the child
Within, there was the peace of God.”

But it speaks volumes for the resistless force of the element of progress in human nature that though

civilization was compelled to seek shelter behind walls from which it was often routed and destroyed, though every portion of the surface of the habitable earth was time and again, and time without end, swept and seamed and scathed and scarred by the storm of war, though fertile and populous districts were time and again converted into howling wastes, nevertheless the net results of human experience show that man is steadily rising to loftier and loftier mental and moral heights. Despite the ravages of Goths and Vandals, of Turks and Tartars, of Arabs and Saracens, despite the horrid, murderous deeds of your Alarics and Attilas, your Jenghes Khans and Tamerlanes, your Bonapartes and McKinleys, the world is moving forward to an era of universal peace that shall be broken nevermore.

A most remarkable instance of the two-sidedness of human nature is furnished us in the case of the Biblical character, Moses, the great Hebrew lawgiver. In the Book of Exodus, Chapter 20, and also in Chapter 31 and Chapter 32, we find the statement that the Ten Commandments written upon tables of stone by the finger of God were brought down from Mount Sinai by Moses and delivered to the children of Israel. Independently of their origin the Ten Commandments are universally considered to be of great moral worth and moral weight, second only in importance to the rules of action prescribed in the Sermon on the Mount. Those of the commandments

which bear on man's social duties run about in this wise:

Honor thy father and thy mother.
Thou shalt not kill.
Thou shalt not steal.
Thou shalt not commit adultery.
Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.
Thou shalt not covet the things that belong to thy neighbor.

These commandments are the affirmation or reaffirmation of principles that must have been recognized and acted upon ages and ages before the time of Moses—principles without which there can be no civilization and no organized or orderly form of society.

But we find Moses acting a very different part, and appearing in a very different light. The Book of Numbers, Chapter 31, tells the story. We give it very nearly verbatim, a few offensive expressions being changed into a more acceptable form:

1.

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

2.

Avenge the children of Israel of the Midianites; afterward shalt thou be gathered unto thy people.

3.

And Moses spake unto the people, saying, Arm some of yourselves unto the war, and let them go against the Midianites, and avenge the Lord of Midian.

4.

Of every tribe a thousand, throughout all the tribes of Israel, shall ye send to the war.

5.

So there were delivered out of the thousands of Israel, a thousand of every tribe, twelve thousand armed for war.

6.

And Moses sent them to the war, a thousand of every tribe, them and Phinehas the son of Eleazar the priest, to the war, with the holy instruments, and the trumpets to blow in his hand.

7.

And they warred against the Midianites, as the Lord commanded Moses; and they slew all the males.

8.

And they slew the kings of Midian, besides the rest of them that were slain; namely Evi and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, five kings of Midian: Balaam also the son of Beor they slew with the sword.

9.

And the children of Israel took all the women of Midian captives, and their little ones, and took the spoil of all their cattle, and all their flocks, and all their goods.

10.

And they burnt all their cities wherein they dwelt, and all their goodly castles, with fire.

11.

And they took all the spoil, and all the prey, both of men and of beasts.

12.

And they brought the captives and the prey and the spoil unto Moses and Eleazar the priest, and unto the congregation of the children of Israel, unto the camp at the plains of Moab, which are by Jordan near Jericho.

13.

And Moses, and Eleazar the priest, and all the princes of the congregation, went forth to meet them without the camp.

14.

And Moses was wroth with the officers of the host, with the captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds, which came from the battle.

15.

And Moses said unto them, Have ye saved all the women alive?

16.

Behold, these caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass against the Lord in the matter of Peor, and there was a plague among the congregation of the Lord.

17.

Now therefore kill every male among the little ones, and kill every married woman and mother.

18.

But all the women-children keep alive for yourselves.

* * * * *

25.

And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying,

26.

Take the sum of the prey that was taken, both of man and of beast, thou and Eleazar the priest, and the chief fathers of the congregation:

27.

And divide the prey into two parts; between them that took the war upon them, who went out to battle, and between all the congregation:

28.

And levy a tribute unto the Lord of the men of war which went out to battle: one soul of five hundred, both of the persons, and of the beeves, and of the asses, and of the sheep:

29.

Take it of their half, and give it unto Eleazar the priest, for an heave-offering of the Lord.

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30.

And of the children of Israel's half, thou shalt take one portion of fifty, of the persons, of the beeves, of the asses, and of the flocks, of all manner of beasts, and give them unto the Levites, which keep the charge of the tabernacle of the Lord.

31.

And Moses and Eleazar the priest did as the Lord commanded Moses.

32.

And the booty, being the rest of the prey which the men of war had caught, was six hundred thousand and seventy thousand and five thousand sheep,

33.

And threescore and twelve thousand beeves,

34.

And threescore and one thousand asses,

35.

And thirty and two thousand persons in all, of female children.

36.

And the half which was the portion of them that went out to war, was in number three hundred thousand and seven and thirty thousand and five hundred sheep.

37.

And the Lord's tribute of the sheep was six hundred and threescore and fifteen.

38.

And the beeves were thirty and six thousand; of which the Lord's tribute was threescore and twelve.

39.

And the asses were thirty thousand and five hundred; of which the Lord's tribute was threescore and one.

40.

And the persons were sixteen thousand, of which the Lord's tribute was thirty and two persons.

41.

And Moses gave the tribute, which was the Lord's heave-offering, unto Eleazar the priest, as the Lord commanded Moses.

42.

And of the children of Israel's half which Moses divided from the men that warred.

* * * * *

47.

Even of the children of Israel's half, Moses took one portion of fifty, both of man and beast, and gave them unto the Levites, which kept the charge of the tabernacle of the Lord; as the Lord commanded Moses.

What a shocking spectacle do we here witness! Imagine for a moment that the spoils taken from the Midianitish victims are paraded before our eyes. First come six hundred thousand sheep. Next come seventy thousand cattle. Then follow sixty thousand asses. Lastly comes a drove of thirty-two thousand little orphan girls whose fathers and mothers and brothers, even their baby brothers, had all been killed. Perhaps some of these girls are carrying their baby sisters in their arms. What horrible sufferings and hardships and privations and brutality must these little orphan girls have experienced! What an act of mercy it would have been to have killed those little girls at the same time their brothers were killed rather than to have reserved them for this horrible fate, and probably for a still more horrible fate in the future!

But from the wording of the thirty-first chapter of the Book of Numbers it would appear that the Lord was the author of the massacre of the Midianitish women and children. That chapter contains the statement that the Lord directed Moses to attack the Midianites. The chapter also contains the statement that after the massacre was accomplished the Lord directed a division of the spoils, and also directed that a share of the spoils including a share of the little orphan girls should be set apart for an offering to the Lord. True, it does not appear that the Lord directed Moses to murder the women and children. But as the Lord was of course cognizant of all that was transpiring, as he was apparently on familiar speaking terms with Moses, and must have been within easy speaking distance, he could have instantly countermanded Moses' order to put the women and children to death. As this was not done it is certainly very plain that the text of the Scripture makes the Lord responsible for the commission of the great crime. But the idea is too horrible for contemplation. No civilized human being will for an instant harbor the thought that the Lord was responsible for the murder of the women and children. The Lord was no more concerned in the massacre of the Midianitish women and children than he was concerned in the massacre of the English women and children in India in the Sepoy mutiny of 1857. The Lord was no more concerned in the massacre of the Midianitish women and children than he was con-

cerned in the massacre of the missionary women and children by the Chinese Boxers in the year 1900. The simple facts of the case are that the pretense of Moses that he was acting under divine command in the Midianitish affair was a pure falsehood, a pure fabrication, designed by him for the purpose of exalting himself in the eyes of the ignorant and credulous Hebrews. The crime was the act of Moses, and of Moses only. This substantiates our claim that in the case of Moses was to be found a remarkable instance of the two-sidedness of human nature. On his domestic side, his social side, his civic side, he was the promulgator of the Ten Commandments, the great moral lawgiver, the one who above and beyond all other lawgivers of the world is of the greatest celebrity and highest repute. On his intertribal side, his interracial side, his international side, he was a murderous savage whose deeds of atrocity would shame an Apache Indian and bring a blush on the black cheek of the negro king of Dahomey. On his intertribal side, his interracial side, his international side, Moses like all the rest of the human species was a bloodthirsty, murderous beast. If he could have reappeared in the flesh in these latter days he might have been of material service to the government of the United States in the sacred work of avenging the Lord on the Filipinos. The American general who ordered the killing of all Filipino boys over ten years of age might have taken lessons from Moses, who murdered all the Midianitish boys even though they

may have been infants that had not breathed the air of heaven for the space of ten minutes.

Incidentally it may be noted that the concluding paragraphs of the thirty-first chapter of the Book of Numbers show that the Israelitish warriors plundered the corpses of their Midianitish victims of valuable jewelry, a portion of which, at least, they voluntarily offered to the Lord. The officers of the host came to Moses and said:

"We have therefore brought an oblation for the
" Lord, what every man hath gotten, of jewels of
" gold, chains and bracelets, rings, earrings, and tab-
" lets, to make an atonement for our souls before the
" Lord."

Moses took the gold, which amounted to sixteen thousand seven hundred and fifty shekels, worth eighty thousand dollars.

This affair finds something approximating to a parallel in recent American experience. In March, 1901, a transport laden with American soldiers whose term of service had expired, arrived in San Francisco from Manila. Of course, these men were brave, noble and devoted patriots. Of course they faced death on the battlefield in order to vindicate the national honor. Of course they bared their intrepid bosoms to a storm of hostile bullets in order to add new glories to the flag. Of course they left their homes and their firesides and their business, and traversed half the circuit of the earth for the high and holy purpose of carrying the light of the Gospel

to the distant Filipinos in order that these poor people might be redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled from their bondage to ignorance, Satan and Sin. Of course. But these men do not seem to have been entirely free from what we may euphemistically term human weakness. The San Francisco Chronicle in its issue of March 14, 1901, has a laudatory article in regard to these troops, from which some excerpts are here given:

“The Thirtieth Volunteer Infantry, numbering 764
“officers and men, mostly from Illinois and Michi-
“gan, is encamped on the Presidio hillside. In ten
“days the returned soldiers will be discharged from
“military service. Each of them will get from \$250
“to \$1500, and the officers will receive considerably
“more. In addition to the Government pay it is ad-
“mitted that the men have among them an aggregate
“of about \$40,000 worth of diamonds and jewelry,
“acquired in the service of capturing big towns hastily
“abandoned by frightened natives.

“The Thirtieth has in camp two noncommissioned
“officers who are practically the heroes of the regi-
“ment. George J. Harmon, of Chicago, was award-
“ed the Congressional medal of honor for his daring
“and gallantry at the midnight capture of Malosa Hill.
“Another hero is a sergeant-major, a young news-
“paper man of Detroit. He has been officially re-
“ported by Captain Newberry as ‘the best soldier I
“‘ever knew and the highest type of noncommissioned
“‘officer in the United States Army,’ has been praised

“ for military skill and clerical ability in handling
“ regimental records, and has been urgently recom-
“ mended for the medal of honor for his ‘supreme
“ courage and gallant conduct’ in crossing a raging
“ mountain torrent in a gorge at the fight of Dingin,
“ where, to avoid what seemed a second Custer mas-
“ sacre from ambush, he dashed down a bank in ad-
“ vance of nineteen companions, faced a galling fire
“ from above on three sides, breasted the swift, muddy
“ stream, floundered across sixty yards, part of the
“ way groping under water, rushed up the opposite
“ declivity, and, by the very impetuosity and reck-
“ lessness of the charge of his men, put to flight a
“ force of 400 insurgents, of whom twenty-nine were
“ killed during the engagement, which began with a
“ sudden fusillade from the Filipinos and the discharge
“ of a big bamboo cannon, firing horseshoes, and kill-
“ ing six Americans at the first shot.

“The sergeant-major sent \$2,000 worth of captured
“ diamonds home to his mother.”

From this article it would appear that the American Christian soldiers are fully equal to the ancient Israelitish warriors in their swinish appetite for plunder; but in comparison with their Hebrew prototypes they would nevertheless seem to be somewhat short on piety. We do not hear of the Americans offering any diamonds to the Lord as an atonement for the sins of their souls. We may, however, indulge the fond hope that this failure to perform an obvious religious duty will not in any appreciable degree dimin-

ish the intensity of the fervor with which the people of the Philippine Islands return thanks to God for the coming of the Americans to their shores.

A most striking illustration of the beastliness of the human race is furnished us in the reception given by the City of New York to Admiral Dewey in September, 1899. But before describing this affair let us go back a thousand years to the time when the island of Manhattan, on which New York City is now situated, was the home of an Indian tribe. These Indians, like all other Indians and like all other human beings who are not Indians, had been for time immemorial and for time incalculable involved in ceaseless strife and bloodshed. A band of young men belonging to this tribe engage in a marauding expedition against their hereditary enemies. They meet with success and set out upon their return to their homes. As they approach their village they send scouts in advance to announce their coming. Of course there are no monster cannon to shake the earth with salutes of welcome. Of course there are no magnificent temples in which to offer sacrifices to heathen deities. Of course there are no stately Christian churches in which to sound *Te Deums* of praise to the God of Battles for his loving kindness in vouchsafing a "glorious victory."

But the heart of the Indian is sound on the war question. The heart of the Indian is perennially overflowing with the spirit of wolfish bloodthirstiness which we euphemistically term "patriotism" and upon

which we bestow unstinted praise as the noblest trait in the human character. The warriors, with faces and bodies hideously painted in various colors, and uttering unearthly yells in imitation of the cries of wild beasts approach their village. The old men, women and children gather to meet them, and in shrill voice echo the yells of the victors. The warriors carry poles upon their shoulders from which dangle the scalps of their victims. They brandish their war-clubs and boast of their exploits. The scalp poles are handed to the women to be held aloft while the warriors circle around them in a war dance. They utter fiendish yells. They strike blows at imaginary enemies. They imitate their own actions in the battle, and they mimic the dying groans of the enemies they have slain. They distort their countenances, gnash their teeth, and work themselves up to a pitch of frenzied madness. They conclude their festivities by burning their prisoners to death at the stake.

Go back two thousand years to the period when ancient Rome was engaged in subjugating the nations and peoples of the earth. A general who has achieved an important conquest in Europe or Asia or Africa, and has returned to Rome with his army, is accorded an official reception, an official triumph. The great city, the mistress of the world, is wholly given over to manifestations of joy. All work is suspended. The temples are thrown open and decorated with flowers. The streets are gay with garlands and thronged with multitudes of people who welcome the victors with

loud and continuous acclamations of praise. The great procession is headed by the august Roman Senate and the magistrates. They are followed by trumpeters and then by the spoils of the war, consisting of arms, standards, statues, valuable treasures, representations of battles, representations of the towns, rivers and mountains of the conquered country, models of fortresses, etc. Next come the victims destined for sacrifice, especially white oxen with gilded horns. Then follow the prisoners of war who have not been sold as slaves, but kept to grace the triumph; they are to be put to death when the procession reaches the Capitol, the great temple of the god Jupiter. The chariot which carries the victorious general is crowned with laurel and drawn by four white horses. The general, standing in the chariot, is attired in the purple robes of Jupiter, embroidered with gold. In his right hand he holds a laurel branch; in his left hand an ivory scepter with an eagle at the point. Above his head the golden crown of Jupiter is held aloft by a slave, who reminds him in the midst of his glory that he is a mortal man. Lastly come the soldiers, shouting *Io Triumpho*, and singing songs. On reaching the temple of Jupiter the general places the laurel branch on the lap of the image of the god and offers a bull in sacrifice. A feast of the magistrates and Senate, and sometimes of the soldiers and people, conclude the ceremonies, which on some occasions occupy several days.

But let us look at the Dewey reception. For months

previous large sums of money had been collected and expended in preparation for the great event. When Dewey was slowly making half the circuit of the earth on his return to America the telegraph each day announced the location of his vessel to an expectant and impatient public. And when he reached New York harbor the whole people, as by one impulse, abandoned their business and their work and broke forth in a wild jubilee of delight. All the vessels in the harbor were decorated from stem to stern and from deck to mast-head with holiday dress of flags, and bunting of brilliant hues. Dewey's vessel slowly steamed up North River followed by a majestic fleet of iron-clads after which came a thousand private steamers. The guns of the fleets and the guns of the forts thundered forth an exchange of salutes. The wharves and shores for miles and miles were thronged and packed by dense crowds of people from whom came wave after wave of deafening cheers. Nightfall only added zest to the carnival. The harbor was blazing with red lights burned on every ship. The streets were a sea of electric illumination. The heavens were incessantly aflame with the explosion of fireworks. The second day witnessed the great procession, reaching nearly the whole length of Manhattan Island and attended by three millions of spectators gathered from far and near to honor and applaud the hero of the occasion. Thirty thousand soldiers passed under the triumphal arch and thousands of school children joined in songs of praise.

Here we have three celebrations and the most acute and searching analysis will fail to discover the slightest difference in their moral composition. Each of these celebrations is the irrepressible outburst of fiendish joy over the wholesale murder of the people of another nation, race or tribe. Take your Aboriginal Savage, your Roman Heathen, and your American Christian, and strip them of the peculiarities of their civilization or uncivilization, and you have before you three entities in all the naked bloodthirstiness of the beast. If there be any antecedent wickedness in the deeds leading to and prompting and inspiring these various celebrations, then the Christian is immeasurably the greatest criminal. The Christian sins against the greatest light. The savage and the heathen have been under no moral influence. They have had no moral teaching and no moral training. They have had no moral guidance, no moral code, no moral precepts, no sense of moral responsibility. But the Christian claims that his pathway from the cradle to the grave is illumined by radiance from on high. He claims that he has received instructions directly from the mouth of Almighty God. He claims that he has been redeemed by Divine sacrifice, sanctified by Divine grace, blessed by Divine love, and guided by Divine wisdom. The staff upon which he leans throughout his earthly pilgrimage is the blessed assurance that a life of righteousness and holiness will be crowned with eternal reward. "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." In his ears have ever sounded

the words, "But I say unto you, Love your enemies, " bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you, " and persecute you."

But no savage tribe, no cannibal tribe, no pagan monarch, or pagan nation was ever guilty of a wicked-er or crueller deed than that perpetrated by these United States in the harbor of Manila, through the agency of George Dewey. In time of profound peace, when we had not an enemy on earth we sent forth our navies and armies and made a wicked, wanton, unprovoked and entirely piratical attack upon a peaceable and friendly nation. In that affair in Manila harbor we killed and mangled three hundred men—men who had fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, wives and children—men who had never injured the United States in any way, shape or manner—men belonging to a nation that had never injured the United States in any way, shape, or manner. Fouler and blacker crime was never committed on the face of God's earth. More horrible episode was never recorded on the page of history. In point of morality this deed was exactly on a par with that of the man who should take his Henry rifle and, crossing the road, should shoot down his neighbor and his neighbor's wife and his neighbor's manservant and his neighbor's maidservant and all his neighbor's children.

A few years ago in Santa Clara County, California, a man named Dunham shot his wife and his wife's father and his wife's mother and the servant girl and

two hired men, leaving six people dead upon the premises. In 1898 the United States Dunhamized Spain. When the news of the great crime at Manila reached the United States the American flag should have been furled and tied with crape, the public buildings should have been dressed in black, and the whole American people, every man, woman and child, should have robed themselves in sackcloth and ashes and prostrated themselves upon their faces in the dust and cried out in agony of remorse "God be merciful to us sinners." And for ages to come the anniversary of this horrid deed, should be observed as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, as an atonement for the great national sin. But the human animal is not that kind of a beast.

But we are told that we entered upon this war from the highest and holiest and purest of motives. We are told that from the depths of the noble American heart there came welling up an irresistible flood of sympathy for the suffering Cubans, crushed to earth by the exactions and tyranny of Spain. We are told that America to-day wears a crown of imperishable glory by reason of the fact that she alone of all the nations that ever existed on earth poured out the most precious blood of her brave sons in a struggle prompted wholly and solely by impulses of humanity, philanthropy and love. Yes, we have heard this. We have laid this flattering unction to our souls. We have hugged this fond delusion to our bosoms. We have administered this soothing balm to our smarting con-

science. We have rolled this miserable, damnable lie like a sweet morsel under our tongue. But lie it is, nevertheless. The simple facts of the case are that Cuba was a land of peace and plenty at the very moment when that horde of demagogues at Washington inaugurated that most infamous and most iniquitous of wars.

The human race worships a wholesale murderer. Napoleon Bonaparte for nearly twenty years kept the continent of Europe involved in endless turmoil of war, waged for the wicked and selfish purpose of gratifying his ambition to rule the world. In these incessant conflicts he murdered more than a million French soldiers, whose bones were left bleaching on a hundred battlefields, or a thousand battlefields, all the way from Moscow to Madrid. But though every family in the land must have been reached and stricken by this horrid carnage, though the first-born in every household must have been sacrificed as a victim on the altar of the Moloch of war, nevertheless the whole French people crawled in the dust before Napoleon and kissed his feet in the blindest adoration. In 1898, at the battle of the Omdurman, on the banks of the Nile, General Kitchener killed 15,000 Arab dervishes—fanatical wretches inspired by religious frenzy, who with the most reckless desperation marched in solid phalanx across an open plain into the flaming jaws of the death-dealing British machine guns, which mowed them down like grass till not a soul of them was left alive. When General Kitchener returned to England

he was received with open arms and the most tumultuous applause by the people of London. He was presented with a bonus of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars by vote of Parliament. He was invited to dine with the Queen. Wherefore these marks of distinction? The question needs no answer. It was because he had killed so many human beings that he was enshrined so deeply in the English heart. If he had simply dispersed those dervishes with a loss of a dozen or fifteen lives he would never have been noticed.

But, to test the nature of the impulses that prompted the Dewey reception, let us imagine for a moment that Dewey had saved three hundred human lives instead of destroying three hundred human lives. We will suppose that while navigating the oriental seas he encounters a terrible and lasting hurricane. His ship labors heavily amid the rolling waves and is hardly more than able to breast the storm. But while the gale is still raging with fury a vessel is espied at a distance flying signals of distress. Approaching nearer it is ascertained that the vessel is in a sinking condition. Though it seems nearly impossible for a boat to live in such a sea Dewey determines to attempt a rescue. He orders a boat with a picked crew to be lowered. The moment the boat strikes the water it is overwhelmed by an enormous wave, which crushes it like an egg-shell against the side of the ship, washing away the crew, every man of whom perishes. Nothing daunted, Dewey orders another boat to be prepared for lowering. He calls for volunteers to man

the boat. There's a moment's hesitation. It's a dread venture that threatens certain destruction. Dewey himself jumps into the boat and calls for assistance. In an instant there is a tumultuous rush to get into the boat. The boat is lowered and Dewey makes his way toward the other vessel and commences picking up the people that are dropped into the sea within his reach. He conveys these to his own ship and then makes a second trip of rescue. Other boats are launched from the two ships, some of which with their occupants are engulfed in the waves, thus adding to the loss of life. But Dewey perseveres in the work till he has brought away the last human being from the sinking ship, which shortly after goes down. He finds that he has saved three hundred human lives. It was a work of genuine heroism. It was a work that required consummate skill and unflinching courage and unremitting toil. It was a work attended with the most appalling danger; while the work which he performed in Manila harbor was attended with no danger at all. In Manila harbor Dewey and his ships and his men were beyond the range of Spanish guns, and as far as they were concerned the whole affair was nothing but so much target practice.

But what would Dewey have gained personally by rescuing this great number of people from the jaws of death? Nothing. Practically nothing. Some humane society might have given him a vote of thanks and a gold medal. Congress might have done the same. But the great world would have simply be-

stowed an idle glance at the affair, and would have forgotten it entirely the next moment. We will suppose that a year after this event Dewey starts for home. He arrives in New York harbor with his ship. He drops anchor. He goes ashore in his boat. He lands at the Battery. He gets on board a street-car and rides up town to his hotel utterly unnoticed and unknown. And when the papers the next morning announce that Dewey has arrived, ninety-nine men out of every hundred would ask, "Who's Dewey?" And the hundredth man would answer that he didn't know. As the savior of three hundred human lives Dewey's name would have passed into oblivion. As the destroyer of three hundred human lives Dewey's name is entered on the roll of the world's immortal heroes. It is because he was the agent for the commission of a most horrible wholesale slaughter that he is deified by the American people. It is because his garments were dripping with human blood that he becomes an American god. And the reason for the existence of this universal tendency in human nature to worship a wholesale murderer is found in the fact that today in the veins of every member of the human species there flows the blood of the beast—the ancestral beast, the untamed and untamable ferocious wild human beast of millions and millions of years ago. The sweet voice of the angelic fair one welcoming the "returning braves" from a career of blood in a foreign land is but the echo of the fierce shriek of her ancestress—the she-gorilla.

But it is hardly necessary to argue further in support of the proposition that man is a bloodthirsty beast. He is shown to be such theoretically as the inevitable result of the process of evolution through which he passed from the condition of a simple germ to his present stage of development. He is shown to be such practically by the overwhelming testimony of every page and every line of human history. When man was a beast among beasts he was beset by enemies on every side. He was constantly engaged in fighting in order to escape destruction by other beasts stronger if not fiercer than himself. He was constantly engaged in fighting in order to overpower and destroy weaker animals that he might obtain their flesh for food. The spirit of insatiate greed which is the eternal groundwork of all animal existence undoubtedly prompted him to attack and rob and murder and even devour the members of his own species. Molded and developed amid such surroundings the human animal could not have failed to acquire all the attributes and essentials of ferocious beasthood. And when the dawning of intelligence enabled him to manufacture deadly weapons and enabled him to form combinations with his immediate kindred he speedily obtained mastery over the brute creation, and thenceforth all his ferocity and all his unquenchable lust for blood and all his brutal instincts were centered and absorbed in warfare against the rival tribes and races of his fellow men. Here was the origin of that cloud of war which hangs over the world to this day. War is a

relic of beasthood. War is organized and systematized beastliness. War is wholesale murder legalized under every form of government and sanctified under every form of religion. "War is hell." The war spirit with which the soul of every human being on earth is saturated and surcharged is the badge, the unmistakable token, the infallible birthmark which proves that mankind sprang from the loins of the beast. In all human experience, in all human sentiment and human impulse, in all human action and human aspiration the war spirit is an everpresent factor and motor. It reveals itself in all our civilization, in all our literature, in all our religion. It resounds in our oratory; it breathes in our songs; it echoes in our prayers. Who of us in the days of our youth were not thrilled with the words of Patrick Henry, "I repeat it sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!" Step into the average American church any time during the past five years and you might hear a pious invocation running about this wise:

"We thank thee, O Lord, that under Divine Providence the shot fired from American cannon are battering down the walls of Satan's kingdom and opening up the benighted regions of the earth to a knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus."

The human race takes to blood as the duck takes to water. As the sow wallows in the mire so does every Christian nation on earth delight to wallow in the blood of every other Christian nation. Every

nation on earth is in essence and spirit a brutal ruffian, armed to the teeth, holding a glittering dagger at the throat of every other nation and watching with cat-like vigilance for an opportunity to inflict a deadly thrust. Every page of universal history is red with universal bloodshed. The monsters who have ravaged the face of the earth with fire and sword occupy the most conspicuous positions in the world's annals. A successful murderer at the head of a nation is invariably crowned with laurels by a brutish populace and smeared with benedictions by a truckling church. When the offspring of the she-wolf refuse to partake of the flesh of the lamb which their mother has brought to their den, when they gather in a group on one side and shed tears over the fate of the unfortunate victim then will human wolves fail to experience emotions of joy when they hear of the deeds of destruction, rapine and death wrought by their victorious armies in foreign lands.

But though the war spirit is the most horrible trait in human nature, though it has time and again rained fire and blood upon every portion of the earth, though it has time and again broken up fountains of the great deep and rolled over the world a flood of liquid damnation, nevertheless the possession of that spirit must not be charged against mankind as a crime. A rattlesnake is not to blame for being a rattlesnake, a tiger is not to blame for being a tiger, and man is not to blame for being a bloodthirsty beast, for, to make use of vulgar parlance, God Almighty made him so.

All the physical, mental and moral characteristics and traits in the constitution of man and in the constitution of the whole universe are the absolutely exact mathematical results of the action of given and adequate causes. The true criminals are the rulers of nations who unchain the tiger, who pander to the base instincts of the vulgar herd, who kindle and fan the flame of war in order to gratify their personal ambition or to advance their personal interests. To track to their lair some of these criminals whose deeds of iniquity have recently rendered them conspicuous in the eyes of the world is the object of this discussion and of this work.

And it is a most noticeable and most important fact that among the masses of the people in the great nations of the earth, among the masses of the people in the so-called civilized nations of the earth, the war spirit is generally dormant and passive unless called into life for sinister and fiendish purposes by the machinations of wicked rulers. Of course, savage tribes are always ready at a moment's notice to fall into line for an attack upon their enemies. Savage tribes do not deem it necessary to waste precious time in the issuance of deceitful, hypocritical diplomatic notes as a preliminary to the commencement of hostilities. And in some cases it is undoubtedly true that as between civilized nations there are slumbering embers of ancient animosity that can be easily quickened into a blaze. But it may be laid down as a general

rule in these latter days that if two nations become involved in war, that war is directly traceable to the wickedness, the fathomless iniquity of rulers.

And it may be further observed that though the masses of the people are quiescent and indifferent during the discussion of issues that may be pending between nations the moment these issues culminate in war the inherent beastliness of the human race is quickened into activity as by an electric shock and in the uncontrollable eagerness to engage in the shedding of human blood all question as to the merits or demerits of the strife are utterly ignored. When the tocsin of war is sounded the human animal rushes at once to the slaughter, and questions of right or wrong no more affect his action than they affect the action of the canine appurtenance to the household, who, at the bidding of his master, is always prepared to make a ferocious attack upon any and every object that may come in view. Wars are made by knaves and fought by fools. On the first of January, 1859, Louis Napoleon, the so-called Emperor of France, gave the usual New Year's reception to the foreign ministers and ambassadors resident in Paris. The members of the diplomatic body, arrayed in their official garb, attended the reception and made the addresses customarily delivered on such occasions. They tendered their congratulations to the Emperor, expressed the hope that he would continue to enjoy happiness and prosperity, and conveyed to

him the assurance that the monarchs and governments whom they represented were animated by nothing but the kindest of feelings toward him and his people. To each of these speeches in turn the Emperor made reply in the same vein, with the same smooth and hollow professions of regard. But when the Austrian minister came forward and made a speech similar in spirit and expression to those of his fellow diplomats the Emperor replied that he was extremely happy to observe that between his government and the government of Austria there was entire peace and harmony and friendship except in Italy. These words fell upon the ears of his startled audience like a thunderclap from a cloudless sky. It was seen at once that Louis Napoleon had selected this occasion to announce to the world that he intended to make an attack upon Austria. In fifteen minutes his words were telegraphed to every capital in Europe and the whole continent knew that war was about to come. Armies began to gather. The European governments were anxious to avert hostilities and a conference of the great powers was called, in the hope of accomplishing that object. But when the conference assembled it at once became apparent that it would avail nothing. The French delegates to the conference had evidently been instructed to accept no terms of settlement and to proffer no terms of settlement, but merely to waste time in useless and pointless verbiage. After repeated and

prolonged efforts to achieve some result the conference was abandoned in despair. At the last session of that body when the final adjournment was announced a momentary and solemn hush fell upon the assemblage. For the brief instant the dread of coming horrors was uppermost in every mind. The silence was broken by the voice of the Austrian delegate as he turned to leave the hall:

"It would be laughable, were it not attended with such serious consequences to mankind, to observe into what hands Providence intrusts the destinies of nations."

This cutting and caustic remark was of course aimed at Louis Napoleon, but it might, on occasion, be appropriately repeated in countries not located on the European continent. In six weeks from the adjournment of that futile conference the war was raging.

And though Louis Napoleon was the sole originator of the war, though the French people had not been consulted in regard to the matter, though they had had no intimation that the struggle was about to come, though they had no cause of complaint against the Austrian government or against the peoples subject to that government, nevertheless, with the eagerness, zest and idiocy which is characteristic of human nature under such circumstances and which is especially characteristic of the Gallic nature they flung themselves, heart and soul, into the bloody strife. Wars are made by knaves and

fought by fools. In 1898, when the knaves at Washington made that cowardly and piratical attack upon poor, old, dying Spain, simply because they knew that she was too weak and feeble to offer resistance, the fools throughout the country scrambled to get a drop of the miserable thimbleful of fighting that accompanied the commission of that horrid crime. Hold out to any people on earth the prospect of obtaining a sup of human blood and they will follow their leaders to the lowest depths of criminality in order to gratify their tigerish appetite.

But the believers in the final advent of universal peace may look for coming relief. The fact that the masses of mankind, though of bloodthirsty disposition, cut no figure in the matter of initiating war, greatly simplifies the task of abolishing all war. The responsibility now rests upon rulers, and if all rulers were wise and upright and true and faithful men, if all rulers were sincerely and earnestly devoted to the sacred work of improving the conditions of the human race, war would cease at once and forever. But greed is eternal in the human heart and wicked and selfish ambition will tempt rulers to plunge their countries into war in order to enhance their own personal glory and popularity and power. Rulers, then, must be hampered and manacled and fettered. When we have a Federation of the World which shall specify the number of armed men that each nation shall be allowed to

maintain, for peace purposes only, which shall also establish courts with full authority to adjudicate all disputes between nations, we shall then have a hook in the jaw of every one of the wretches in power who in our day as in all days are seeking opportunities to deluge the face of the earth with innocent blood.

SELF DEFENSE THE ONLY LEGITIMATE EXCUSE FOR
WAR.

The most visionary optimist in regard to the future of the human race could hardly dream of a period when all violence between man and man will disappear from the face of the earth. The most that can be rationally hoped for in this direction is that under the continuous workings of that law of progress that has brought man forward thus far in the line of development his ancient inherited beastly propensities will gradually become less and less prominent while his newly acquired tendencies to correct moral action will be rendered stronger and more effective and more binding. But a long road with many backslidings must be traveled before any perceptible change in human nature will be revealed. An appalling daily record of crime and violence and brutality will yet continue to stare the world in the face. Burglars will ransack human habitations in search of spoils. Cowardly thieves will prowl by night and by day. Bold robbers will thrust their guns into the faces of victims, will

hold up railroad trains, will dynamite their way into bank vaults. Ancient grudges or newly sprung quarrels will provoke incessant outbursts of physical violence. Lifelong friends infuriated by sudden and uncontrollable anger will draw deadly weapons upon each other and die in their boots. Murderers will drop poison into food or lie in ambush to await the approach of the unsuspecting game. Rapists, negro or white, will commit their horrid crime. The law of brute force which is the absolute and only law in the world of animals is of fearful prevalence and potency in the world of men.

But side by side and step by step with the development of the disposition which prevails among all animals, man included, to attack and prey upon each other came the development of the disposition to resist such attack. Efforts at defense must have been coeval in time of origin with efforts at aggression. The love of life is universally developed in all the animate creation. The love of life is an inducement to make efforts to preserve that life by avoiding or repelling danger. Self-preservation is said to be the first law of nature, and self-defense is a natural and often indispensable means of securing self-preservation. Writers on criminal jurisprudence concur in the statement that self-defense is founded on a law of nature which is superior to all human law and which, therefore, can not be abolished by any legislative enactment. A person may repel force by force, and when feloniously attacked and in danger of immediate death may

kill his assailant. A man may repel force by force in defense of his person, his habitation or his property against all who attempt by violence to commit a known felony on either. A person when a forcible and atrocious crime, such as robbery or murder, is attempted upon another individual in his presence, may interfere to prevent such crime, and will be justified though such interference may result in the death of the assailant. And if one man when violently and feloniously assailed, has the right to repel force by force in self-defense, then two men have the same right under the same circumstances; then ten men, or a thousand men, or a million men have the same right; then a "government" has the right to repel force by force when the lives and homes and property of its people are wickedly and wantonly and feloniously assailed.

But it is to be observed that the right of a "government" to repel force by force is a derivative right. It is a right delegated to the "government" by the individual in whom the right is eternally inherent. It is a right conferred upon the "government" by the associated individuals who created that "government" and made that "government" their agent. To be sure, we are often told that "government" is of Divine origin, that "government" is clothed with Divine authority, that "government" has a Divine mission to perform. The American Imperialists who repudiate and ridicule the national love of liberty which we inherited from our forefathers expressly affirm that the individual exists only by sufferance of "government" and has

no rights, powers or privileges except such as "government" may graciously vouchsafe and may at any time peremptorily withdraw. In the sense that the creation of all things, the creation of all life, the creation of all matter animate or inanimate, organic or inorganic, is ascribed to a deity—in such sense it may be said that "government" is of Divine origin and has a Divine mission to perform. But in the same sense it must be said that the rattlesnake is of Divine origin, and has a Divine mission to perform. So the mosquito is of Divine origin and has a Divine mission. So the cholera germ, which finds lodgment in the human vitals and there breeds its billions and trillions and quadrillions of progeny till every atom of the body is surcharged with poison, is of Divine origin and clothed with a Divine mission. And if "government" in the abstract sense of the term is of Divine origin then all "governments" are of Divine origin. Then the "governments" of Xerxes, of Nero, of Mohammed, of Tammerlane, were of Divine origin. Then the "government" of the Empress Dowager of China, of the Czar of Russia, of the Shah of Persia, of the Sultan of Turkey are of Divine origin.

The simple facts of the case are that though "government" may be a matter of overshadowing importance, a matter of the most urgent necessity, nevertheless, that "government" is purely a matter of human creation just as much as a pair of shoes is a matter of human creation. The relationship subsisting between the individual and "government" was never

more clearly and truly set forth than in the American Declaration of Independence from which we quote:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all
"men are created equal; that they are endowed by
"their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that
"among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of hap-
"piness. That to secure these rights governments are
"instituted among men, deriving their just powers
"from the consent of the governed; that, whenever
"any form of government becomes destructive of these
"ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abol-
"ish it, and to institute a new government, laying its
"foundation on such principles, and organizing its
"powers in such form as to them shall seem most
"likely to effect their safety and happiness."

There can be no mistake as to the signification of this language. The immortal Declaration expressly affirms that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, which simply means that "government" can have no existence whatever until the breath of life is breathed into its nostrils by the people who create that government for their own protection and benefit. The immortal Declaration goes farther and affirms that the people have the right to abolish any form of government and to establish new governments and to confer upon these new governments such powers as they may see fit to grant them. The people then are the creator, and the government is the creature. In the individual man is to be found the germ of all power. In the individual man is to be

found the source, the fountain-head of all true and genuine governmental authority. Nay, even the punitive functions which are exercised by government are derived from the individual man. Man has a right to punish crime. If you are one of a party of three persons traversing a wilderness a thousand miles from any human habitation and if the second man in the party deliberately and wilfully murders the third man you have the right to drop the murderer in his tracks. If a dozen men engage in an expedition to go to the Antarctic Continent to gather seal skins and if, while located on that distant land, over which no government claims any authority, one of their number willfully murders another the remaining ten persons have a right to administer proper and adequate punishment. If lynch-law were always administered with coolness, with deliberation, with wisdom, with discretion, with forbearance, with justice, it would be the ideal method of punishing crime. Justice, in such case, would not so often become hopelessly entangled in the meshes of legal technicalities and lawyers' quibbles.

But while in extreme cases human life may be taken in self-defense no man has any moral right to kill his innocent and harmless child. No man has any moral right to kill his innocent and harmless neighbor. No man has any moral right to journey thousands of miles and kill the innocent and harmless people on the opposite side of the globe. And if one man has no moral right to kill an innocent person then two men have no moral right to kill an innocent person. Then ten men

or a thousand men or a million men have no moral right to kill an innocent person. Then a "government" has no moral right to kill an innocent person. Then no "government," or nation, or people, has any moral right to adopt, unnecessarily, a line of action that naturally eventuates in the death of an innocent human being. And if a king or emperor or president or congressman is officially connected with the unnecessary adoption of a line of action that eventuates in the death of an innocent person then such king or emperor or president or congressman is an infamous murderer and deserves punishment as such. William McKinley had no moral right to send bodies of soldiery around the world for the purpose of forcibly and violently establishing a usurped authority over a race of men whose natural and eternal right to freedom was as clear and indisputable as that possessed by the American people in the days of the past or in the days of the present. William McKinley had no more moral right to send hired agents to kill the innocent and harmless Filipinos than he would have had to take his Henry rifle in his hand and, sauntering down the streets of his own town of Canton, in Ohio, amuse himself by shooting the children at play in their door-yards. A "government" has no moral right to take human life except in self-defense, just as an individual has no moral right to take human life except in self-defense. A "government" is simply the agent of the individuals by whom it was created, and as the individuals have no moral right to commit willful murder

their agent has no moral right to commit willful murder.

It is to be observed that we are speaking of the absence of all *moral right* to kill innocent and harmless people. As to the existence of the *legal power* to commit this horrid crime there can be no question. It is universally assumed, we might say it has been eternally assumed that the first and chiefest function of every form of government on earth is to kill the people of another nation, race or tribe. The rudest and crudest semblance of government that developed among human animals just emerging from a condition of pure beasthood must have had human slaughter as its sole object.

The first gleam of intelligence among human animals was manifested in the forming of combinations to attack and rob and murder the human animals of another tribe. The earliest forms of government and the earliest forms of religion must have been surcharged with a spirit of bloodthirstiness, and that same spirit of bloodthirstiness is revealed in all governmental and religious affairs even to the present day. The American Declaration of Independence distinctly recognizes the war power as a legitimate and natural function of government. It says that the United American Colonies, as free and independent States, have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. The Constitution of the United States expressly pro-

vides that Congress shall have power to declare war, and there are absolutely no checks, restraints or limitations whatever upon the exercise of that power. In the exercise of that power the American Congress might direct that the names of the great nations of the earth be written upon separate strips of paper, that each of these strips be rolled up and fastened with a rubber band; that the pellets thus formed be put in a glass jar and well shaken, that a blind man be employed to take the pellets from the jar, that the names contained in these pellets be called off in succession as they are taken from the jar, and that war be declared against the nation whose name is last called. Such an act would not be one whit wickeder than what the American Congress has done in recent years, and it would be infinitely less cowardly than what the American Congress has done.

When in the grand march of human progress the race becomes so far advanced as to accept arbitration as the means of settling all international difficulties, when we have a Federation of the World, a Parliament of the World and a Court of the World, then our various national constitutions will expressly prohibit declarations of war by the governments organized in pursuance of such constitutions.

But in the meantime we affirm that no amount of constitutional authority, no amount of statutory authority, no amount of authority resting on world-wide, universal, eternal custom can in any degree mitigate the fiendish criminality of the wretch in power who

wickedly, willfully, wantonly, and in furtherance of his own selfish schemes of personal aggrandizement plunges any nation on earth into the horrors of unnecessary war. If all the rulers of all the so-called civilized nations of the earth were to meet for the purpose of devising ways and means to improve the condition of the human race every person in that assemblage would be forced to admit that the greatest possible boon to all mankind would be the establishment of universal, eternal peace. And while awaiting a joint movement in this direction it is the duty of every individual ruler, of every individual nation, and of every individual of every nation to labor with unflagging zeal and earnestness to avert any threatened resort to human bloodshed as a means of settling international difficulties. All public policy, all public acts and all public utterances bearing in any manner upon the interests or sentiments or prejudices of the people of another nation should be so molded and shaped and modified as to furnish no ground for taking offense. Of course there may be occasions when the use of reckless language would not engender any fear of alarming consequences. A member of the Arkansaw Legislature or of the Norwegian Storting might indulge in a vehement philippic against the Sultan of Borrobooloo Gha, or the editor of the Confederate Cross Roads Bugle or the White Horse Rapids Alaskan Patriot might revile the memory of Cetewayo, erstwhile chieftain of the South African Zulus, and the world would not waste time in listening for the

cannon's boom in response. But if two great countries lie in close geographical proximity, if they have rival interests if not antagonistic interests in every form of business, in every form of industry, in every form of production, in every form of trade and commerce, if they have, deep-seated in their hearts, an inexhaustible fund of mutual jealousy, if they have, deep-seated in their hearts, an inexhaustible fund of latent, smoldering animosity handed down for generations, from the era of the bloody conflicts that reddened the pages of history for century after century, then if any friction or irritation is developing between them it is time for a pause and a hush.

The Fashoda affair between England and France in 1898 furnishes an illustration. Lieut. Marchand, a French officer, with half-a-dozen Frenchmen and a couple hundred natives crossed the African continent from the French settlement in the valley of the Niger and reached Fashoda on the banks of the Nile. He there raised the French flag as a token of sovereignty. This act met with the most enthusiastic approbation of the French people. Marchand became at once the national idol, and he was everywhere hailed with loud acclaim as the champion of the interests and power and glory of France. But England was there. England was to be reckoned with. England claimed that the entire valley of the Nile from the Mediterranean Sea to the remotest fountain-heads of that river among the mountains of Southern Africa was Egypt or an appurtenance of Egypt, and Egypt was under the tute-

lage and protection and authority of England. The English people regarded the act of Marchand in much the same light as the American people would regard the act of a party of Mexicans who should cross the American continent from Chihuahua, and, locating on the banks of the Mississippi River, should there fling the Mexican banner to the breeze to indicate that they had assumed dominion over that section of country. England called for the departure of Marchand from Fashoda and from the Nile valley. Here was an impending crisis. Here was an occasion for a pause and a hush. Every man in England from the king on the throne to the beggar in the streets of London should have spoken on the subject with bated breath. Every man in France should have exhibited the same spirit. The discussion of the question at issue between the two nations should have been conducted with every manifestation of mutual respect and deference. There should have been no bluster, no swagger, no bravado, no arrogance, no insolence, no taunts, no sneers, no threats, no defiance, no indulgence in abusive, offensive, insulting language, no attempts to intimidate or humiliate, no attempts to irritate or aggravate or exasperate. And if any villainous manager of a public journal in England or any villainous manager of a public journal in France should have devoted all his energies to the fiendish task of plunging the two countries into a wicked, unnecessary war, if he had in every issue scattered firebrands of agitation throughout the land, if he had in every issue published column

after column of false, manufactured telegrams, purporting to give an account of the outrages and atrocities committed by the rival country, if he had in every issue called on the people to rush to arms and ravage the face of the earth with fire and sword in order to assert the dignity of the nation and vindicate "the honor of the flag," or if any villainous demagogue on the floor of the British Parliament or any villainous demagogue on the floor of the French National Assembly had given utterance to a wolfish howl for blood in order that he might stir up the beastly passions of the brutal rabble, if he had given utterance to a wolfish howl for blood in order that he might pose before the world as the champion of his country's rights and the avenger of his country's wrongs, if he had given utterance to a wolfish howl for blood in order that he might gain political renown and political power and political promotion, every such wretch should have had the word "outlaw" burned into his brazen cheek, should have been driven with universal scorn beyond the pale of human civilization, and "not with a whip, " but with a *tail* should have been lashed naked around "the world."

The Fashoda affair between England and France in 1898 was peaceably settled. But in that same year a very different affair was developed on the western side of the Atlantic. In 1898 the United States made a most infamous and piratical attack upon Spain. In 1898 the villainous managers of the American press and the villainous demagogues of the American Con-

gress were marshaled in full force, and finally obtained control of the country through the aid and connivance of a worthless, weak and wicked national executive. The Fashoda affair was a legitimate occasion for war, according to all the traditions of all the nations in all ages. The Cuban affair was not a legitimate occasion for war, according to any human tradition or according to any human principle. Yet the Fashoda affair ended in peace, while the Cuban affair ended in blood. It may be said that this circumstance does not show that the people of Europe are any less bloodthirsty than the people of America. It may be said that France and England, in maintaining peace, were governed by prudential considerations. These nations feared that if war were commenced all the powers of Europe would finally be drawn into the conflict, with consequences that would be appalling beyond human conception. But it may be said that America is no more affected by prudential considerations than by scruples of conscience. The geographical isolation of America furnishes absolute security against hostile attack by any power on earth, and therefore in this western world the natural, tigerish appetite of the human race for human blood can be gratified to the full whenever and wherever a helpless and unoffending victim can be found.

But far above all mere prudential considerations, far nobler and higher and weightier than prudential considerations are the moral obligations resting on all rulers to strive for the maintenance of universal

peace throughout the world, now and forevermore. And the recipe, the prescription for the maintenance of universal peace can be couched in the briefest possible terms. It is simply this, that the powers and potentates of the earth in their dealings with each other should be governed by the rules of action laid down in the Sermon on the Mount. The model ruler, in his public life, in his official life, should be inspired by the same conscientious sense of duty, by the same spirit of benevolence and good-will and fraternal love as that which animates the model citizen in his dealings with his fellow-men in private life. He should be mild and gentle and unassuming in his demeanor, in his language, in his acts. He should be liberal, generous and friendly in every respect. He should be forbearing and forgiving, patient and long-suffering, ready to return good for evil. He should no more think of setting the machinery of war in motion than a model private citizen would think of drawing a deadly weapon and shooting right and left in return for a fancied or pretended or imaginary affront. In short, a good and true government in its dealings with other governments should do just what a good and true man would do in his dealings with other men.

A recent writer has discoursed upon this subject in strong and pertinent language:

“A nation is exactly like a man. It has peace or
“ gets into strife in the same way and for the same
“ sort of reasons.

“No man that respects his neighbor’s rights as scrupulously as his own has any trouble in preserving that peace.

“No man that is just, kindly, reasonable, open to argument, courteous, willing to grant anybody else all that he demands for himself, generous toward weak men, tolerant toward all men—no such man ever gets into trouble with his neighbor.

“Fighting is the most unnecessary thing in the world; also the most foolish, time-wasting, energy-wasting and altogether absurd in men and murderous in a nation.

“If the Czar of Russia when he appealed to the world to put an end to war, really meant what he said, he should have then and there announced that hereafter his country would not attempt to steal another nation’s territory.

“That henceforth it would not maneuver, lie, cheat, swindle, or trample upon the weak in order to enlarge its boundaries.

“That hereafter it would not tolerate oppression anywhere, but all men under its flag should have absolute and perfect justice, absolute protection in their various walks of life, no matter what might be their belief.

“That hereafter no Finland should be oppressed, no Manchuria grabbed, no Poland or Circassia or Turk-estan subjugated and trampled down, no man-stealing and land-stealing practised by Russia anywhere in the world.

“That hereafter in the view of Russia violence
“ against the weak anywhere in the world would be
“ regarded as the most detestable of crimes.

“He should have said that thereafter in Russia
“ knowledge would be the only desirable pursuit, jus-
“ tice the law of land, the liberty and progress of the
“ people the chief concern of the government.

“He should have denounced as infamous and foul
“ and revolting the theory that size and strength give
“ one nation the right to seize the territory of another
“ less fortunate in these respects, and that for a nation
“ to disregard its pledges is just as detestable and dis-
“ graceful as for a man to be a liar.

“He should have pointed out that building empires
“ is not the chief aim of life; that theft is theft, by a
“ nation or by a man.”

In an address upon education President Eliot of
Harvard University clearly sets forth the moral obli-
gation resting upon nations:

“Every child should be taught that what is virtue
“ in one human being is virtue in any group of human
“ beings, large or small—a village, a city or a nation;
“ that the ethical principles which should govern our
“ empire are precisely the same as those which should
“ govern an individual; and that selfishness, greed,
“ falseness, brutality and ferocity are as hateful and
“ degrading in a multitude as they are in a single
“ savage.”

The Superintendent of Public Instruction in the
Department of Marne, in France, issued to the teachers

under his charge the following admirable circular which shows a clear perception of the moral responsibility of men in authority:

"I request the teachers to see to the removal from
" the walls of the schools of all pictures representing
" scenes of violence. In one school I counted, in fif-
" teen engravings, fourteen that gave beheadings,
" tortures, massacres and treacherous murders.
" These engravings are generally hung up to illus-
" trate history, but are historically false and ridicu-
" lous. But were they even true in every respect,
" they should none the less be removed from the
" schoolrooms. We should be careful not to
" familiarize children with sights of violence and
" ferocity. The brutal instincts of the human race
" are not yet sufficiently weakened or crowded out
" by higher ones to admit of our placing before the
" eyes of the young scenes of murder and other
" atrocities. Our moral law is based on the irrevocable
" law of absolute respect for human life. We
" should teach children that unjust war is a horrible
" inheritance of ancestral brutality, and that a nation
" which takes up arms without having first tried
" every means of conciliation, without having made
" strenuous efforts to settle differences by arbitra-
" tion, commits an abuse of force. That nation dis-
" honors itself. It places itself beyond the pale of
" reason and humanity, and its conduct is bestial.
" Instil into the consciences of children—which, be
" assured, will receive it—this truth, in which the

"safety of civilization lies, namely, that a nation has
"an inviolable soul, and that all abuse of force com-
"mitted against a nation is an act of brigandage."

No one will dispute the correctness of our position. No one will deny that every upright, faithful, conscientious, beneficent, self-sacrificing ruler—every ruler devoted, heart and soul, to the welfare of his country and to the welfare of the whole human race, will strive to avoid shedding blood in his official capacity as earnestly as he would strive to avoid shedding blood in his private capacity. Every good and wise ruler, every truly and sincerely philanthropic ruler, every ruler who regards the power placed in his hands as a sacred trust, will strive to avoid any line of policy or line of action that threatens to engender or rekindle animosity between nations. He will strive to allay any dangerous popular excitement, any dangerous manifestations of that spirit of blood-thirstiness which is eternally rooted in the human heart. The righteous ruler will abhor war as the greatest curse of mankind.

But all rulers are not righteous, as is abundantly shown by our own experience in these United States. And among the unrighteous men in power in the latter half of the last century a conspicuous position must be assigned to Louis Napoleon, the counterfeit Emperor of France. He was a man in whom it may be said that not even a microscopic trace of any kind of virtue could ever be found. He was an unprincipled adventurer, a perjurer, a traitor, a usurper, a

murderer, a despot. He overthrew the established government of his country by armed force, and ruled for twenty years. He gained something of prestige by joining hands with the English in carrying on the Crimean war against Russia in 1854. He gained something of prestige by waging war against Austria in 1859. But as the years elapsed, his grasp on France steadily weakened. In the spring of 1870 his throne seemed tottering to a fall. The whole nation was becoming restive under his control. The opposition to his government was daily becoming bolder and more pronounced and more outspoken. Paris, which is always in favor of a republican form of government, was now a seething caldron of discontent and incipient revolution. At no point on his dark political horizon could Louis Napoleon discover a ray of light, a gleam of hope.

But at this juncture a wholly unexpected incident occurred, which he welcomed as a godsend and which he seized upon as a drowning man is said to grasp a straw. The throne of Spain was vacant. Queen Isabella had abdicated or resigned her sovereignty. The Spanish Ministry was searching for a new ruler. The crown had been offered to several European princes, but had been declined. On July 4, 1870, the Spanish Ministry resolved to propose to the Spanish Cortes the name of Prince Leopold Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, a distant relative of the King of Prussia, as candidate for the Spanish throne. Here was Louis Napoleon's golden opportunity. He could

now step into the breach, sword in hand, and denounce the occupancy of the Spanish throne by a German prince as a menace to France, and he could pose as the rescuing champion of his endangered country. On July 6, he sent his Prime Minister, Emile Ollivier, and his Minister of Foreign Affairs, Duke de Gramont, to the French Corps Legislatif, where they declared that the candidacy of a prince of the House of Hohenzollern agreed upon without the knowledge of the French government would be injurious to the honor and influence of the French nation. The statement was utterly groundless and absurd. Time was when such a protest might have been pertinent. Five hundred years ago, if a powerful sovereign were to place a relative on the throne of a neighboring nation, it might be said that he thereby virtually annexed that nation to his own dominions. Five hundred years ago the masses of the people in all countries were mere puppets and slaves, whose only sense of duty was to render blind and unquestioning obedience to the dictates of rulers. But times have changed, and people have changed, and governments have changed. In all civilized countries there is now a power behind the throne that is stronger than the throne itself. In all civilized countries there is now an all-powerful public opinion, to whose slightest whisper the haughtiest of despots intently listens, and to whose expressed wish he reverentially defers. The sovereign is no longer the state. The sovereign is but a fraction of the state. The sovereign, to retain his hold upon

power, must identify himself with the people and become one of the people. If, in these days, a prince of one nation is elected to the throne of another nation, it is necessary for him to cut entirely loose from the land of his birth and to affiliate wholly and totally and solely with the people of the land of his adoption. If to-morrow an English prince, or a Swedish prince, or a Russian prince, were elected to the throne of Spain, and were to make the attempt to conduct the affairs of that country in subserviency or subordination to the interests of his native land, his leasehold upon royal power would not be worth an hour's purchase. The pretense of Louis Napoleon that France was in danger from the Spanish Succession in 1870 was a transparent sham. But it apparently promised to serve his purpose. It apparently promised to win him popularity. It received a good degree of support from the French people.

Sagasta, the Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs, on July 7 sent a dispatch to Paris, declaring that Prince Leopold was the free choice of the Spanish government, and had been elected without consultation or negotiation with any other power in Europe. Shortly after this the Prussian Government issued a circular declaring that Prussia had no part whatever in selecting Prince Leopold. These statements were entirely unheeded by Louis Napoleon, whose grand object was to create and intensify difficulties and controversies and strife, hoping thereby to enhance his own personal power and prestige. On July 9 he

directed Count Benedetti, the French Ambassador to Prussia, to demand of King William that he forbid Prince Leopold's acceptance of the Spanish crown. The King refused, declaring that he had no right to give orders to a prince of Hohenzollern who was of age. On July 12 Prince Leopold declined to be a candidate for the Spanish throne. The whole world now supposed as a matter of course that this Spanish affair was completely and peacefully settled. But not so with Louis Napoleon. In American mining parlance, he had struck a streak of pay ore and he was determined to work it for all it was worth. He was determined that the incident should not be closed till he had reaped more personal advantage therefrom. He was determined to push matters to extremes. He now demanded that the King of Prussia should give a written guaranty that no prince of the House of Hohenzollern should ever thereafter become a candidate for the throne of Spain. There could be no mistake as to the object of this insulting demand. Its object was to browbeat and humiliate and entail disgrace upon the King of Prussia. Its object was to announce to the world that Louis Napoleon was lord and master, and the King of Prussia was his serf. The Prussian Ministry refused to receive the demand, and refused to lay it before the King. On July 15 Louis Napoleon declared war against Prussia. In six weeks from that date a German prison opened its portals to welcome him to its gloomy depths, and the curtain dropped forever on his farce of imperialism.

Louis Napoleon made the war of 1870 in order to increase his political power, just as William McKinley made the war of 1898 in order to increase his political power. Louis Napoleon was the wilful and deliberate murderer of every one of the thousands and tens of thousands of human beings who perished in the German-French war of 1870, just as William McKinley was the wilful and deliberate murderer of every one of the thousands and tens of thousands of human beings who perished in the American-Spanish-Filipino wars, commencing in 1898. Louis Napoleon made the war of 1870 of his own volition, on his own motion, while William McKinley made the war of 1898 as the pliant, ready, servile tool of the vilest crop of demagogues that the fertile soil of America ever produced. We have touched upon the deeds of the great French criminal in order to develop a standard wherewith to fathom the iniquity of the greatest of American criminals.

But we have a later illustration of the malfeasance of public officials in the matter of maintaining peace between nations. On the sixteenth day of October, 1891, an American war vessel, the *Baltimore*, Commander W. S. Schley, was lying at anchor in the harbor of Valparaiso. Two boatloads of the crew were permitted to go ashore. On landing they repaired to a low drinking saloon, where they became involved in a quarrel with the Chileans. An American seaman is said to have knocked down a Chilean. In an instant the Chileans rushed upon the Americans, who were

greatly outnumbered, unarmed and incapable of self-defense. The mob swelled in numbers rapidly. The Americans attempted to escape. They endeavored to board a street-car. They were caught and pulled off the car. The American who is said to have struck the first blow was shot and instantly killed. Another man was fatally stabbed in the back. Three or four more were dangerously wounded, and fifteen men were slightly wounded. The police finally quelled the riot.

There were certain antecedent circumstances that contributed to the commission of these horrid deeds of violence and blood. Chile was just emerging from the throes of civil war. The Chilean President, Balmaceda, had quarreled with the Chilean Congress, which refused to pass measures that he recommended. Balmaceda usurped absolute authority, made himself dictator, issued decrees and carried them into execution by means of the army. He confiscated the property of his opponents, and even put them to death. The Chilean navy supported the cause of the Congress, and to escape from Balmaceda the Congress went on board the ships of war and sailed to the north, near the borders of Bolivia, where they made their headquarters. The immense majority of the people of Chile favored Congress, and large numbers of men found their way to the northward, where they enlisted in the rapidly-growing Congressional army. The city of Valparaiso was in the power of Balmaceda, though the people were strong supporters of the Con-

gress. The people of Valparaiso observed that Commander W. S. Schley, of the American warship Baltimore, was on very friendly terms with Balmaceda, and they imbibed the impression that he was rendering assistance to the usurper. When the Congress had collected an army large enough to warrant entering upon an active campaign, their troops came down from the north on board the ships of war and landed at a point on the coast, a short distance below Valparaiso. Commander Schley steamed out of Valparaiso harbor, went down to the place of landing, watched the debarkation of the Congressional troops, and returned to his anchorage. The people of Valparaiso imagined that the American commander was acting as a spy for Balmaceda. In a few days a decisive battle was fought, and Balmaceda was utterly defeated. He subsequently committed suicide in order to escape falling into the hands of his enemies. On the night after the battle a mob of soldiery inaugurated a reign of terror in Valparaiso, pillaging houses and murdering people. Six hundred men, women and children are said to have been killed. The Congress now assumed control of the country, and elected a new President. Turbulence and lawlessness did not immediately disappear. Confiscation and death were visited upon some of the supporters of Balmaceda in retaliation for the crimes he had committed upon his opponents.

It was a few weeks after these events that Commander Schley permitted his men to go ashore. It

would seem to have been an act of folly and madness on his part. He could hardly have failed to have been aware of the fact that the people of Valparaiso cherished more or less of hostile feeling toward him and his ship and his crew. He must have been in constant communication with the American Minister to Chile, with the American Consul at Valparaiso, and with the American business men resident in that city, and from them he must have learned something in regard to the tone and temper of the public mind. In allowing his men to go ashore under these circumstances, he virtually became responsible for the bloodshed that followed.

But the riot having occurred, Commander Schley should have immediately called upon the Chilean government to investigate the matter. The American Minister should have also called upon the Chilean government to investigate. The government of the United States, to which all American citizens in foreign countries look for protection in their persons and property, should have called for an investigation. And the communication which the American government should have sent to Chile should have been worded in accordance with the directions, which we have previously prescribed, namely, that all rulers and governments, in their dealings with each other, should conduct themselves in the same kindly, friendly, gentle and fraternal spirit which good and true men exhibit in their private dealings. The communication to Chile should have been worded about in this wise:

“The United States respectfully and earnestly requests of the government of Chile that a rigid investigation into the facts and circumstances of the murder of American seamen in the streets of Valparaiso be instituted; that the guilty parties be ferreted out and punished; and that all possible reparation be made for the injuries inflicted.”

Such a communication, expressed in such language, is precisely what should pass between two friendly nations, and could not be considered as affording any ground for taking offense. But the communication which *was* sent to Chile was of a different tenor. On the twenty-third of October, 1891, the government of the United States instructed the American Minister to demand of the Chilean government whether it could give any

“explanation of an event, which had deeply pained the people of the United States, not only by reason that it resulted in the death of one of our sailors and the pitiless wounding of others, but even more as an apparent expression of unfriendliness toward this government, which might put in peril the maintenance of amicable relations between the two countries.”

This communication commenced with an insult and concluded with a threat. It is the height of absurdity to call upon any government for an explanation of a deed of mob violence. Deeds of mob violence show for themselves only too plainly. It is a common characteristic of mob action that it is sudden, unexpected,

spontaneous, explosive. You might as well call upon a government for an explanation of a shock of an earthquake or the stroke of a thunderbolt as to call for an explanation of the deeds of a mob. You might as well call upon the French government for an explanation of the volcanic eruption that overwhelmed the city of St. Pierre, in the island of Martinique, or call upon the American government for an explanation of the hundred-mile-per-hour hurricane that drove the waters of the Gulf over the city of Galveston. The government of Chile was no more concerned in the inception of the Valparaiso riot than was the government of Switzerland or the government of Roumania. All that any government can do, under such circumstances, is to administer effective punishment to the leaders in the work of violence, and to make ample reparation for all damages.

It will be observed that the communication which Ben Harrison sent to the American Minister contained the words "to demand of the Chilean government whether it could give any explanation." This really means to demand an explanation. The wording of the paragraph was simply a clumsy and futile attempt to conceal the point of the insult by means of diplomatic circumlocution. To demand an explanation is ordinarily an insult. To stop a man on the street and demand an explanation is to insinuate or intimate that he has been guilty of improper or illegal conduct. To demand an explanation is to court hostilities unless you have your foot securely and im-

movably planted on the other man's neck. Of a friend, you ask for information. Of an enemy you might demand an explanation if you are spoiling for a fight. The concluding portion of Harrison's communication was a veiled threat of war.

The reply of the Chilean government was curt and snappy. The reply of Chile was that the government of the United States made demands and advanced threats that were not acceptable, and could not be accepted in the present case, nor in any case of like nature; that the affair would be investigated and dealt with according to the procedure of the municipal law of Chile; that the result of the inquiry would be communicated to the United States government, without recognizing, however, any right of intervention in the course of justice.

Here was laid the foundation for a diplomatic quarrel, if not for something far more serious. The question was discussed with bitterness and rancor between the two governments for some time. It was finally settled. Chile convicted and punished three leaders of the mob, and paid seventy-five thousand dollars in gold to be distributed among the American sufferers.

The part which Ben Harrison played in this matter was not a blunder. It was a crime. Ben Harrison was playing to the galleries. He was a candidate for re-election as President of the United States, and he thought he would pose as the champion of outraged and injured America, just as Louis Napoleon tried to

pose as the champion of injured France. Ben Harrison knew that when the report of the murder of American seamen in the streets of Valparaiso was circulated throughout the United States there would come up from every square acre of American soil a volume of curses loud and deep upon all Chile and all Chileans. He thought he could coin this animosity into votes, and therefore he would allow the animosity to develop and strengthen.

Just at this juncture there appeared above the surface—and we might appropriately say above the surface of the bottomless pit—the hideous visage of the American Satanic press, the most potent agency on earth for infecting and impregnating every atom in the constitution of human society with unspeakable and irremediable moral rottenness. The grand object of the American Satanic press on this occasion was clearly to open up an era of bloodshed by plunging the country into war. The motive which prompted the American Satanic press was pure fiendishness, pure, unmitigated diabolism. The motive which prompted the American Satanic press was identical in every respect with the motive which might induce an individual to set fire to a crowded hotel in order that he might amuse himself by watching the people jumping from the upper stories to their death upon the sidewalk. The Satanic press raised a prolonged, wolfish howl for blood. In their every issue appeared sensational headlines, which ran about in this wise:

WAR!

WAR!

WAR!

•
—

MORE CHILEAN OUTRAGES!

—

10,000 AMERICAN TROOPS CROSSING THE CONTINENT BY
RAIL TO SAN FRANCISCO TO TAKE
SHIP FOR CHILE!

—

FLEET OF IRON-CLADS PASSING AROUND CAPE HORN TO
AVENGE THE CRIMES COMMITTED
UPON AMERICANS!

—

GREAT ACTIVITY IN THE NAVAL AND WAR DEPART-
MENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
UNITED STATES.

Day after day and week after week the Satanic Press spread broadcast throughout the country its perversions of facts, its absolute falsehoods, its inflammatory appeals designed to excite the popular sentiment up to that point that war could not be avoided. The persistence of the Satanic Press in this line of action could not fail to produce more or less evil fruit. It is said that the constant dropping of water will wear away the hardest rock. It is said that the constant iteration and reiteration of falsehood will finally effect a lodgment of that falsehood in the human soul, and make that falsehood a part of the human belief. It is said that the constant parading and exhibition of the most odious and offensive vices before human

eyes will finally kindle sympathetic emotions in the human breast. The American Satanic Press was making headway in its work of diabolism.

Here was an opportunity for the President of the United States to perform an obvious duty. We have heretofore affirmed that the highest, holiest, most sacred obligation resting upon all the rulers of the world is to maintain universal peace among the nations; to frown down all wild and reckless agitation that threatens to result in bloody conflict; to endeavor to remove all causes of irritation, and to allay all dangerous excitement.

The true ruler will keep his finger on the popular pulse and be prepared at all times to check any feverish symptoms. If Ben Harrison had been a man fit for his exalted position he would not have hesitated an instant to take the proper steps to draw the fangs and neutralize the venom of the serpents of the Satanic Press. He would have written a brief note, nominally addressed to some friend, but in reality intended for publication throughout the entire country. That note should have been worded in about the following manner:

Dear Sir:

There is absolutely no occasion whatever for anticipating any difficulty between the United States and Chile growing out of the terrible tragedy in the streets of Valparaiso. The United States and Chile have ever been on terms of entire friendship, and there is no prospect or likelihood that this friendship will ever be

impaired. We may rest assured that the government of Chile will do everything in its power to discover and punish the perpetrators of the recent crime, and will make full amends in all other respects.

(Signed) BENJAMIN HARRISON.

If Ben Harrison had been man enough, and candid enough, and truthful enough to make this simple statement of the simple facts, the villainous utterances of the American Satanic Press would have been instantly silenced, and the incipient war-cloud that was gathering over the continent would have disappeared like the mists of the morning.

But Ben Harrison did nothing of the kind. He uttered no syllable. More than three months after the affair in Valparaiso he sent a special message to Congress, five mortal columns in length and devoted entirely to denunciations of Chile, when we had no ground whatever for any kind of complaint against Chile. Ben Harrison was evidently in hopes that the war excitement would wax fiercer and fiercer. He was evidently desirous of feeding and fanning the flame of war till it should get beyond control. And this stupendous treachery to the sacred duties of his position, to the sacred duties resting on all rulers throughout the world to strive for the maintenance of universal peace, marks him as a cold-blooded wretch whose name should be damned to everlasting infamy.

If Ben Harrison had succeeded in plunging the country into war, if he had succeeded in killing and mangling twenty thousand Americans, if he had suc-

ceeded in killing and mangling fifty thousand Chileans, if he had succeeded in bombarding and burning half a dozen coast cities in Chile, if he had succeeded in driving a hundred thousand Chilean women and children from their homes to perish from exposure and starvation, if he had succeeded in adding a thousand million dollars to the national debt—if he had done all this he would have been hailed as a second savior. If he had done all this, the American people would have prostrated themselves with their faces in the dust before his throne and worshiped him as a god. If he had done all this he would have been triumphantly re-elected President of the United States in 1892 simply because he was the greatest murderer of the age, just as William McKinley was triumphantly re-elected President of the United States in 1900 simply because *he* was the greatest murderer of the age.

"A successful murderer at the head of a nation is invariably crowned with laurels by a brutish populace and smeared with benedictions by a truckling church." There is no nation or race of men on earth that will not crawl over the cold and clammy corpses of thousands and tens of thousands of their dead countrymen to lick the feet of the murderous ruler who has brought to them the spoils of victory gathered in the most infamous, most iniquitous, most horrible of wars. No armed force sent abroad by any nation on earth to wage war upon the people of a foreign land can possibly commit crimes enough to turn the stomachs of the people at home. The soldier may have killed

men by scores, he may have ravished women, he may have burned houses, he may have impaled infants on the point of his bayonet and carried their dead bodies dangling over his shoulder, but when he returns to his native land he is a brave, noble and devoted patriot. He has vindicated the national honor. He has added new glories to the flag. He has opened the way for the spread of the blessed Gospel of Jesus Christ. Look at the horrible deeds of atrocity committed in China in the year 1900 by the soldiers of Christendom on their march from the shores of the sea to Peking to rescue the foreign ministers from threatened destruction by Boxer mobs. See how they pillaged towns and cities. See how they ravaged the land with fire and sword, slaughtering the innocent and helpless Chinese country people in all directions. See how they attacked Chinese women, who jumped into wells to escape from these chosen and glorious evangelists of Christian light and Christian liberty and Christian love and Christian holiness and Christian graces. See how they dragged gray-headed old Chinamen by their cues through the streets, and prodded them to death with bayonets. See how they picked up babes by the heels and beat out their brains upon the sidewalks. And when these Christian soldiers returned to their Christian homes in distant lands they nowhere met with a single word of rebuke or reproof.

But this bloodthirstiness of the human animal calls for hardly more than a modified and qualified condemnation. It's the nature of the beast. As we have

previously said, the rattlesnake is not to blame for being a rattlesnake, the tiger is not to blame for being a tiger, and man is not to blame for being a blood-thirsty beast, for, to make use of common parlance, God Almighty made him such. For untold millions and millions of years man was a beast among beasts, and when the tocsin of war is now sounded he immediately loses all the nobler impulses, abandons all the restraints of civilization, and retrogrades and relapses and recurs to his original beastliness. The physical, mental and moral traits and characteristics of man are the natural, logical, inevitable outgrowth of the action of given and adequate causes. The nature of man is the mathematical result, the mathematical footing up and sum total of the effects of the conditions which have environed him through all his life on this planet from the remotest period when he was but a crawling germ down to the present day.

The true criminals are the wicked rulers of the world who pander to human beastliness, who stir up and excite human beastliness, and let it loose to deluge the face of the earth with blood in order to advance their own personal interests and increase their own personal power and prominence. The history of the human race is nothing but a record of these deeds of wickedness. And the perpetrators of these deeds are to be found at the present day, as they were to be found at any and all periods in times past. War is wholesale murder. Ben Harrison was a great criminal by reason of wholesale murder attempted. William

McKinley was the greatest of criminals by reason of wholesale murder accomplished.

And it is the case of William McKinley that we now propose to take under consideration. All our previous discussions have been simply preparatory and introductory to an investigation of this man's conduct and career. We are all familiar with the prevailing drift of public expression in regard to McKinley. He is everywhere the object of the most fulsome eulogy. His alleged virtues are daily rehearsed in terms of unstinted and unmeasured praise. His glorification is the fad of the hour. He is the sweet-souled, gentle-spirited, pure-hearted, lovable Christian. He is the noble and gallant deliverer of suffering Cuba from the intolerable tyranny of Spain. He is the grandest and most glorious exponent and representative of Aggressive Americanism. He is the man of destiny, the armed and armored and militant champion of that American expansion which is yet to render American authority supreme over every square inch of the earth's surface, and which is yet to demand and exact unquestioning obedience and unfaltering allegiance from every member of the human species. He is the man of God, raised up by an all-wise and beneficent Providence for the holy purpose of showering priceless blessings upon the inhabitants of the earth throughout all generations. Yes, we hear this.

A rebellion against the authority of Spain had been in progress for some time in the island of Cuba. According to the usage and practise of all rulers and

governments and nations it is entirely proper to suppress rebellions by force of arms. In fact it would seem that the right to suppress rebellion is the natural sequence and accompaniment of the so-called right of conquest. If by virtue of its superior military power one nation has the right to conquer and trample down and subjugate and enslave another nation, then it would seem that by virtue of this same superior military power it clearly has the right to hold that conquered nation in a condition of perpetual bondage. It will be observed that just at this point and just at this time we do not affirm or deny the right or justice or wisdom or policy of suppressing rebellions by force of arms. We simply note the fact that according to the universal, eternal practise of all mankind such a procedure is an unquestioned, unquestionable, indispensable function of every form of human government. If to-morrow Finland or Poland or Circassia or Turkestan were to rise in rebellion against Russia the Russian government would immediately proceed to trample down the insurgents with merciless severity and bloodshed, and the Russian people, degraded slaves though they are, would sustain the action of their government with unanimity and enthusiasm. If to-morrow Algeria or Senegambia or Madagascar or Tonkin were to declare their independence of France, the French government would promptly send forth its armies and navies and open up a horrid carnival of wholesale slaughter, to the intense delight of every member of the Gallic race.

If to-morrow India or Egypt or Cape Colony were to deny and defy the authority of England, the heavens would again echo the sound of John Bull's wearied guns, and his people would again abandon their industrial pursuits in order to vindicate and reassert the ancient and hereditary prowess of the Anglo-Saxon upon the battlefield. And the position which the United States would assume in a crisis of this character is by no means a matter of guesswork. The mighty struggle lasting four years to suppress the Southern Rebellion of 1861 shows that America is in line with all other nations in her readiness to cause any amount of woe and misery and destruction and death in order to maintain her authority over all her territorial domains. In accordance, then, with the custom of the world, Spain had a right to suppress the Cuban insurgents by force of arms. The most malignant and mendacious of the American Satanic newspapers could not deny this right. The most malignant and mendacious of the infamous American demagogues who vilified Spain in order to make capital for their own political advancement could not deny her right to suppress the rebellion in Cuba.

Bearing on this point we insert a communication written by Stephen B. Elkins, United States Senator from West Virginia, and published over his signature in the *New York World* on March 16, 1898, about a month before the war was commenced. Mr. Elkins says :

"The American people should treat Spain in the

“present state of affairs just as they would treat any
“other nation. Conscious of her strength and desiring
“to be just, the United States cannot afford to be
“other than fair in her conduct toward Spain. She
“has no difficulty with Spain, and seeks none.

“Up to this moment the United States has no cause
“for war with Spain. Spain is simply trying to hold
“what belongs to her and what has been hers for the
“past century or more, just as any other nation would
“do, and just as the United States did in the Civil War.
“The United States did all it could then to prevent
“the independence of the Southern States.

“Cuba has fought for three years for independence.
“The South, with more claims for independence, with
“a capital, a Congress, postal facilities and the like,
“possessed of one-third of the area of the republic,
“with an army equal to any that the world has ever
“seen, fought four years, and the United States steadily
“resented and resisted any idea of intervention or
“recognition. It seems to me the United States laid
“down a doctrine of nonintervention in our civil war
“from which she cannot easily and with consistency
“depart.

“If Cuba can drive Spain from the island, she will
“secure her independence. Before the United States
“secured her independence the armies of England on
“United States soil surrendered. The United States
“has no more to do with the war between Cuba and
“Spain than any nation on earth. When it becomes
“just and right for the United States to recognize

“the independence of Cuba it will be just and right
“for the other nations to do the same thing, especially
“the governments on this continent. I don’t think the
“United States is called upon any more than Mexico
“or South America to take action now in Cuban mat-
“ters.

“Friends of Cuba in the United States are doing
“most of the fighting for Cuba. They are the cause
“of most of the war feeling that now prevails in the
“United States. They are willing, in order to secure
“Cuban independence, that the United States should
“go to war with Spain. I think more of the United
“States and her people and interests than I do of the
“Cuban cause or Cuban independence, and I am not
“willing to go to war simply to secure Cuban inde-
“pendence.”

It would seem that a spirit of comity should restrain or prevent one nation from interfering in the affairs of another nation at a juncture when all the energies of the second nation are absorbed in a desperate struggle to suppress a formidable rebellion. Noninterference and nonintervention would seem to be the proper rule of action in a case of this character. It is true that this rule has not been observed by the nations of this world, for the reason that the world in all times, in all ages, has been nothing more or less than a theater for the exhibition of the most odious criminality in all its shifting forms and types and variations. All history shows that nothing is more common than that a nation convulsed and paralyzed by internal strife

should become a target for attack by the wicked rulers of surrounding powers who hope to effect an easy conquest. For a brief period at one point in the experience of the nation there was a prospect that these United States might become the target and victim of such an attack. In November, 1861, when the heart and soul and life and strength of the American people were all centered in their stupendous efforts to crush the Southern rebellion, an English merchant steamer, the *Trent*, carrying the English mails from Vera Cruz in Mexico, and Havana in Cuba to the island of St. Thomas for transshipment to Europe, was stopped near the Bahama Islands by an American war-vessel. The Americans boarded the *Trent*, and seized and carried off two of her passengers, Mason and Slidell, who were very prominent men among the Southern rebels, and who were now on their way to Europe to endeavor to secure assistance for their cause. Mason and Slidell were taken as prisoners to the United States, while the *Trent* proceeded on her voyage. When the news of this affair reached England there was a great outburst of excitement and indignation. War meetings were held in all parts of the country, and a cry arose for vengeance upon the United States. There was at that time no telegraph cable across the ocean, by means of which the American government could immediately transmit explanations. Mail steamers were not as numerous at that time as they are at the present day, and there were longer intervals between the departures of vessels from New York for

Europe. This circumstance gave more time for the rapid development of the war spirit in England. But the instant the arrival of Mason and Slidell as prisoners was announced the American Secretary of State, William H. Seward, hastened to write to Charles Francis Adams, the American Minister to England, directing him to inform the British government that the whole affair would be settled in accordance with the principles of international law.

Nothing could have been more reasonable than this, and nothing ought to have been more satisfactory than this. If this communication had been laid before the English people it could hardly have failed to have a most beneficial effect in checking or allaying the growth and spread of the war spirit. But Lord Palmerston, the head of the British government, put this message in his pocket, concealed its contents from the British public, and traveled around the country, making violent speeches at war meetings. He did not want a peaceful settlement of the matter. He wanted war, and he wanted an excuse for war. He wanted to send men and money and arms to the assistance of the Southern rebels. He wanted to open a firing line the whole length of the Canadian border. He wanted to fill American bays and harbors with British war steamers. He wanted to blockade and bottle up the Northern ports and to open the ports of the South to the trade of the world. He wanted thereby to obtain a supply of cotton in order that the idle cotton mills of England might resume the manu-

facture of goods, and that the million starving cotton operatives in Lancashire might obtain work and food.

But in the estimation of the British government far more weighty than these pressing commercial considerations was the question of world-domination in the future. If the United States could be broken up into two rival and hostile republics, these republics would neutralize each other's influence in the affairs of the world, and British supremacy would thus remain unchallenged for an indefinite period of time. In the presence of the United States in these latter days John Bull is an exceedingly gentle and tractable animal. In the presence of the American republic as a united and harmonious whole John Bull stands with bared head and bowed form, a perfect pattern of perfect obsequiousness. But the case was different in 1861. America's extremity was Britain's opportunity. America was in dire straits. The great republic was apparently in the throes of dissolution, and John Bull wanted to jump in and administer the death-blow. The British government wanted to goad and bully and browbeat and threaten and insult the United States till the American people would become so indignant that they would refuse to give up Mason and Slidell, regardless of all questions as to the legality of their arrest and detention. But there was no legal investigation of the matter. England peremptorily demanded the instant release of the prisoners. They were handed over to a British agent on a British ultimatum. It was a case of give up the prisoners or fight. This

attempt of the British government to drive the United States into war at a time when the American people were engaged in a life and death struggle for the preservation of their national existence was an act of consummate meanness, of consummate perfidy, of consummate treachery, of consummate cowardice. In like manner in 1898 when the Spanish nation was exhausted and prostrated and utterly broken-down in a perfectly lawful attempt to suppress a rebellion, the attack made upon that nation by the United States was an act of consummate meanness, of consummate perfidy, of consummate treachery, of consummate cowardice.

But it is said that while it may have been entirely lawful and proper for Spain to attempt to suppress the rebellion in Cuba, the conduct of the war was characterized by horrid brutalities that shocked the whole civilized world and rendered it necessary for the United States to intervene in the interest of universal humanity. It is said that large portions of the island of Cuba were laid waste; that the inhabitants were driven from their homes and compelled to gather around cities and towns where they perished from starvation by tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands. Right here we beg leave to say that the laying waste of a country is a perfectly legitimate war measure. It must certainly be regarded as a most severe and drastic policy which should never be resorted to, except under stress of circumstances. If anything so brutal, so beastly, so wicked, so horrible, so fiendish

as war can be governed by rules of propriety and decency, we should affirm it to be the duty of all commanders of all armies to endeavor to attain the objects for which wars are inaugurated with the least possible destruction of life and property. But it must be acknowledged that the greatest possible destruction of life and property may be effected in order to achieve success, and when victory is within reach there is no limit to the amount of human slaughter that may be committed for the purpose of securing such victory.

In reference to the laying waste of a country as a war measure, we call attention to the following orders issued by Gen. Grant to Gen. Sheridan in 1864:

HEADQUARTERS IN THE FIELD,

Monocacy Bridge, Md.,

Aug. 5, 1864.

General: In pushing up the Shenandoah Valley, as it is expected you will have to go first or last, it is desirable that nothing should be left to invite the enemy to return. Take all provisions, forage, and stock wanted for the use of your command. Such as cannot be consumed, destroy.

U. S. GRANT,

Lieut.-General.

City Point, Va.,
Aug. 16, 1864.

Major-General Sheridan,
Winchester, Va.:

If you can possibly spare a division of cavalry, send them through Loudoun County to destroy and carry off the crops, animals, negroes, and all men under fifty years of age.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieut.-General.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES,
City Point, Va.,
Aug. 26, 1864.

Major-General Sheridan,
Hilltown, Va.:

Give the enemy no rest, and if it is possible to follow to the Virginia Central road, follow that far. Do all the damage to railroads and crops you can. Carry off stock of all descriptions and negroes, so as to prevent further planting. If the war is to last another year we want the Shenandoah Valley to remain a barren waste.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant-General.

These orders speak for themselves. They explain themselves. The wayfaring man though a fool cannot fail to understand them. Directions are here given to kill all horses, all cattle, all sheep, all pigs, all

poultry. Directions are given to destroy all hay, all grain, all crops. Nay, under these orders the woman's loaf of bread might be taken from the oven and the flitch of bacon from the garret and thrown into the nearest bonfire. And then when the farmer has been seized and carried off and thrown into a military prison, when this process has been repeated on every farm and at every house, when the women and children are thus left to shift for themselves in a ruined country, in what Gen. Grant calls a "barren waste," we can easily understand that the floodgates of hell have been thrown wide open and the land has been deluged with an unfathomable tide of misery and woe.

But these war measures were perfectly legitimate, for the reason that they were absolutely necessary. More than twenty years afterwards, in writing his "Personal Memoirs" Gen. Sheridan spoke of these orders which he received from Gen. Grant in the following language:

"I endorse Grant's programme in all its parts, for
" the stores of meat and grain that the Shenandoah
" Valley provided, and the men it furnished for Lee's
" depleted regiments, were the strongest auxiliaries he
" possessed in the whole insurgent section. In war
" a territory like this is a factor of great importance,
" and whichever adversary controls it permanently
" reaps all the advantages of its prosperity. Hence, as
" I have said, I endorsed Grant's programme, for I do
" not hold war to mean simply that lines of men shall

“engage each other in battle, and material interests
“be ignored. This is but a duel in which one com-
“batant seeks another’s life; war means much more,
“and is far worse than this. Those who rest at home
“in peace and plenty see but little of the horrors at-
“tending such a duel, and even grow indifferent to
“them as the struggle goes on, contenting themselves
“with encouraging all who are able-bodied to enlist
“in the cause, to fill up the shattered ranks as death
“thins them. It is another matter, however, when
“deprivation and suffering are brought to their own
“doors. Then the case appears much graver, for the
“loss of property weighs heavy with the most of man-
“kind; heavier often than the sacrifices made on the
“field of battle. Death is popularly considered the
“maximum punishment in war, but it is not; reduction
“to poverty brings prayers for peace more surely and
“more quickly than does the destruction of human
“life, as the selfishness of man has demonstrated in
“more than one great conflict.”

The great and rich Shenandoah Valley was certainly a storehouse from which the rebel forces at Richmond drew supplies. The men whom Gen. Grant ordered seized and thrown into prison were rebel sympathizers who would have enlisted in the rebel army, or who would have engaged in raising crops to feed that army. The valley was a great thoroughfare, down which the rebel hosts swept northeastward into Maryland and Pennsylvania. As a war measure, therefore, Gen. Grant was entirely justified in directing that

that region of country be rendered uninhabitable and uninhabited. The devastation of a country which furnishes provisions for the enemy is as sound and proper and permissible in policy as it is to burn a wagon-train or a vessel laden with provisions for the enemy. It will also be observed that Abraham Lincoln was then President of the United States, and at that critical period of the war must have been in constant communication with Gen. Grant. He must have been cognizant of all Gen. Grant's plans and schemes and orders, and such plans and orders could not have gone into effect except, at least, with Lincoln's tacit assent and approval. Lincoln, then, was equally responsible with Grant for the directions given to Sheridan to lay waste the Shenandoah Valley. And if the American government was justified in laying waste the soil of Virginia as a war measure then the Spanish government was justified in laying waste the soil of Cuba as a war measure. And if the American Satanic Press and the American Pulpit and the American Forum in pouring forth a ceaseless torrent of denunciation and abuse upon the heads of all Spain and all Spaniards were simply performing a plain duty, then in the discharge of a similar duty they are bound even at this late day to execrate and curse and revile the memory of Lincoln and Grant and Sheridan. Either retract your vilification of the Spanish, or else heap unmeasured condemnation upon the heads of those Americans who in the management of the war

in Virginia adopted a line of policy identical in every respect with the policy of the Spanish in Cuba.

But we desire to call attention to the atrocities perpetrated in the Philippine Islands since the period when the American people abandoned their traditional policy of peace and harmony and love and good-will to man, and embarked in a career of destruction and death as a bloodthirsty, piratical robber nation. In the New York World of July 26, 1900, appear the following statements:

"While no proclamation has yet been issued declaring the Filipinos in arms to be outlaws, the American troops are practising in spots in the Philippines a policy beside which bandit law is a tame affair. In spite of the peace proclamations our soldiers here and there resort to horrible measures with the natives. Captains and lieutenants are sometimes judges, sheriffs and executioners. If half a dozen natives, more or less, are shot on suspicion of being our enemies, no news of it reaches the Military Governor, who wants none.

" 'I don't want any more prisoners sent into Manila,' was a verbal order from the Governor-General three months ago. That is the message passed along from officers to privates, and it has been interpreted in several ways. Without any direct authority from Washington, without any published orders calling for such conduct, it is now the custom to avenge the death of an American soldier by burning to the

“ground all the houses and killing right and left the natives who are only ‘suspects.’

“When Lieutenant Kiefer was ambushed and killed and we sought in vain for the insurrectos who were responsible for his death, the company rounded up a number of unruly male inhabitants and shot them without trial. The official report stated nothing of this. It said, as the official reports always do when telling of such an instance, that the enemy had been routed with great slaughter.

“Colonel Howe ingenuously wondered why the natives did not return to their homes in Albay and Legashi. For three weeks his pickets shot at every living thing that came in range, whether or not it carried arms. To compel information as to where they have secreted their arms, the natives are often strung up by their thumbs, or nooses are put around their necks and they are partly strangled.

“Since most of the Americans who were held prisoners have been released, the campaign has become one of no quarter on both sides. Some of the localities where the people are most bitterly opposed to us are scenes of devastation.”

Manila, July 26, 1900.—At Oroquieta, in Northern Mindanao, two American soldiers entered a native store for the purpose of buying food. While there, one of them was killed by a bolo and his head severed from his body. The other escaped and gave the alarm. A company of the Fortieth Infantry stationed

at Cagayan repaired to Oroquieta and killed eighty-nine natives, thirty-eight of them being in a single house.

New York, Oct. 25, 1901.—A cable from Manila to the Sun says: Numerous suspected municipal officials have been arrested in Samar. The evidence shows that there have been startling conspiracies on foot. The sources of the chief supplies for the rebels have been blockaded and the inhabitants are now required to concentrate in the towns. The people outside of these camps will be regarded as enemies of the Americans.

Manila, Oct. 25, 1901.—The people of the Island of Samar have been notified to concentrate in the towns on pain of being considered public enemies and outlaws and treated accordingly.

Manila, Oct. 27, 1901.—Dispatches from Catbolgan, Samar, say that stringent and energetic measures are being taken to suppress the insurrection in that island. Gen. Smith has notified all the presidentes and head men of the pueblos that they must surrender all arms and turn over the persons implicated in the Balangiga massacre before November 6th, threatening that otherwise the presidentes will be sent to the island of Guam, the villages destroyed and the property confiscated. Marines under Major Littleton W. T. Waller have been stationed at Balangiga and Basey, and ten gun-

boats are vigilantly patrolling the Samar coast. Most of the towns in the southern part of the island have been destroyed.

New York, Oct. 27, 1901.—A cable to the Sun from Manila says: Troops are not able to find insurgents in Samar, except individually; hence they are chiefly employed in preventing communication and destroying crops.

Manila, Dec. 16, 1901.—General Franklin Bell has been exceedingly active in Batangas province, where he intends by every means available to stamp out the insurgents. Gen. Bell has notified the natives in Batangas that on December 28th he purposes to concentrate them in the neighborhood of the towns. After that date everything outside these limits will be confiscated.

Manila, April 9, 1902.—Major Littleton W. T. Waller, at to-day's session of the court-martial by which he is being tried, testified in rebuttal of the evidence given yesterday by Gen. Jacob H. Smith who commanded the American troops in the island of Samar. Major Waller said that Gen. Smith instructed him to kill and burn, and told him that the more he killed and burned the better pleased he would be; that it was no time to take prisoners, and that he was to make Samar a howling wilderness. Major Waller asked

Gen. Smith to define the age limit for killing, and he replied: "Everything over ten."

Manila, April 11, 1902.—Major Littleton W. T. Waller of the Marine Corps, who is being tried by court-martial on the charge of executing Samar natives without trial, addressed the court to-day. The major said that in 1882 he was with the British forces in Egypt, where Arabs captured pickets of the British Bengal cavalry, decapitated the prisoners and placed their heads on poles. Major Waller said that all the Arabs that were caught by the British were shot without trial.

During the campaign in China in 1900 the Chinese mutilated the dead and tortured the wounded to death. Consequently when a Chinese Boxer or a fanatic was captured he was executed immediately without reference. This was true in the case of the troops of every nation in China. It was true during the three weeks he (Major Waller) commanded troops there, but the same thing occurred there when he was no longer in command. No protest was made, and he had every right to believe that his acts were approved, so far as the American forces were concerned. He knew they were approved by those of other nations.

Major Waller said that it was impossible to conceive such treachery as that of the natives of Samar. They revel in blood and have an appetite for wanton sacrilege of the human body. These fiends stole Captain Cornell's class ring, filled the soldiers' bodies with jam

and jelly and attempted to murder my command. I shot them. I honestly thought then that I was right, and I believe so now. Neither my people nor the world will believe me to be a murderer.

Captain Arthur T. Marix, Marine Corps, representing Major Waller, in a forceful argument maintained that Waller's actions were justified by martial laws, quoting numerous authorities on the subject. He claimed that all the testimony went to show that the Major was justified. At the conclusion of the arguments for the defense the general feeling was that the result of the trial would be the acquittal of Major Waller.

Manila, April 25, 1902.—The trial by court-martial of Gen. Jacob H. Smith on the charge of conduct prejudicial to good order and discipline, began to-day. General Lloyd Wheaton presided. Colonel Charles A. Woodruff, counsel for the defense, said he desired to simplify the proceedings. He was willing to admit that General Smith gave instructions to Major Waller to kill and burn, and make Samar a howling wilderness, that he wanted everybody killed who was capable of bearing arms, and that he did specify all over ten years, as the Samar boys of that age were equally as dangerous as their elders.

TOUR OF GENERAL MILES.

In 1902 General Nelson A. Miles, the head of the army of the United States, made a tour of inspection

in the Philippine Islands. The result of his observation was embodied in a report filed with the Secretary of War at Washington on Feb. 17, 1903.

Gen. Miles says that in going from Calamba to Batangas in November, 1902, he noticed that the country appeared devastated and that the people were very much depressed. Stopping at Lipa, a party of citizens, headed by the acting presidente, met him and stated that they desired to make complaint of harsh treatment of the people of that community, saying that they had been concentrated in towns and had suffered great indignities; that fifteen of their people had been tortured by what is known as the water torture, and that one man, a highly-respected citizen, aged 65 years, named Vicente Luna, while suffering from the effects of the torture and unconscious, was dragged into his house, which had been set on fire, and was burned to death. They stated that these atrocities were committed by a company of scouts under command of Lieutenant Hennessey, and that their people had been crowded into towns, 600 being confined in one building. A doctor of the party said he was ready to testify that some of the 600 died from suffocation.

At Calbayog, in the island of Samar, it was reported that several men in that district had been subjected to the water torture. Gen. Miles saw three men who had been subjected to this treatment. One was the presidente of the town, Mr. Rosales, who showed long, deep scars on his arms which he said were caused by the cords with which he was bound, cutting into the

flesh. The second man was named Jose Borja, and the third was Padre Jose Diaznes, who stated he was one of three priests who had been subjected to torture by the troops under command of Lieutenant Gaujot, Tenth Cavalry; that his front teeth had been knocked out, which was apparent; that he was otherwise maltreated and robbed of \$300. It was stated that these priests had been taken out to be killed, and were only saved by the prompt action of Major Carrington, First Infantry, who sent out for them. Lieutenant Gaujot was tried, pleaded guilty and was given the trivial sentence of three months' suspension from command, forfeiting \$50 per month for the same period. His pleading guilty prevented all the facts and circumstances being developed.

It appears that Major Glenn, Lieutenant Conger and a party of assistants and native scouts were moved from place to place for the purpose of extorting statements by means of torture, and it became notorious that this party was called "Glenn's Brigade."

THE WATER-CURE.

Washington, April 14, 1902.—The Senate Committee on the Philippines began the week with an intention of making an investigation of the charges to the effect that the "water cure," so called, is practised on the insurgents, and Charles S. Reilly of Northampton, Mass., formerly a sergeant in Company M, Twenty-sixth Volunteer Infantry, was the first witness called with that end in view.

Reilly said that he had been in the Philippines from October 25, 1899, to March 4, 1901. In reply to questions by Senator Rawlins, he said he had witnessed the "water cure" at Igbaris, in the province of Iloilo, on October 8, 1900. It was administered to the presidente or chief Filipino official of the town. He said that upon the arrival of his command at Igbaris the presidente was asked if runners had been sent out notifying insurgents of their presence, and upon his refusal to give the information, he was taken to the convent, where the witness was stationed, and the water-cure was administered to him.

This official was, he said, a man about 40 years of age. When he (the witness) first saw him he was standing in the corridor of the convent, stripped to the waist and his hands tied behind him, with Captain Glenn and Lieutenant Conger of the regular army and Dr. Lyons, a contract surgeon, standing near, while many soldiers stood about. The man, he said, was then thrown under a water tank, which held about one hundred gallons of water, and his mouth placed directly under the faucet and held open so as to compel him to swallow the water, which was allowed to escape from the tank.

Over him stood an interpreter, repeating one word, which the witness said he did not understand, but which he believed to be the native equivalent of "confess." When at last the presidente agreed to tell what he knew he was released and allowed to start away. He was not, however, permitted to escape, and upon

refusing to give further information, he was again taken as he was about to mount his horse and the cure administered for the second time.

This time the man was not stripped nor was he taken into the building. Dr. Lyons said the water could be brought to the spot and given there, and when it was brought in a five-gallon can, one end of a syringe was placed in it and the other end in the man's mouth. As he still refused, a second syringe was brought and one end of it placed in the prostrate man's nose. He still refused, and a handful of salt was thrown into the water. This had the desired effect and the presidente agreed to answer all questions.

On cross-examination by Republican Senators, Reilly said the "cure" had been first resorted to in order to compel the presidente to reveal his own attitude, and that it had been learned from his confession that while he professed to be friendly to the United States, he was in reality a captain of the insurgent forces and that his police were all soldiers. As a consequence of this exposure he was arrested and the town burned. He said that the victim struggled fiercely while the cure was being administered and that his eyes were bloodshot, but that the next day when he saw the man he observed no effects of the "dose" he had received.

Another witness, William L. Smith of Athol, Mass., who was a private in Company M, Twenty-sixth Volunteer Infantry, corroborated Reilly's testimony, saying he had also witnessed the torture of two policemen

of the town of Igaris. Smith said the details of the "cure" were in the hands of a squad of the Sixteenth Regular Infantry, known as the "water-cure detail." He also said that he had assisted in the burning of the town of Igaris, and that the natives generally escaped from their homes only with the clothes they wore. Smith expressed the opinion that Igaris had a population of 10,000. So far as he knew no lives were lost. The witness said that the country places in the vicinity were also burned. All these acts were done under the command of Captain Glenn, who was, he said, Judge-Advocate of the Department of the Visayas. He said that the water was kept running for four or five minutes and that the doctor in charge frequently placed his hand on the man's heart as if to observe its effect upon that organ.

What a black catalogue of crimes is here presented to our view! The hired liars of the American newspapers, the expert and trained liars of the American newspapers, the skilled and talented liars of the American newspapers who day by day wrote out and published long columns of the foulest falsehoods in regard to alleged deeds of the Spanish in Cuba, did not and could not, even by the utmost stretch of the most vivid imagination, succeed in depicting a scene of horrors that would bear any comparison whatever with the confessed and acknowledged atrocities perpetrated by the American soldiery in the Philippine Islands. And yet the American Satanic Press and

the American Pulpit and the American Forum that howled in concert and chorus for the shedding of Spanish blood in expiation of Spanish sins, breathed not the faintest syllable of adverse comment on the fiendish deeds committed under the American flag and under American authority on the opposite side of the globe. Wherefore this agonized outcry in the one case and this serene silence in the other? Was it because in the one case that the noisy expressions of sympathy for "suffering Cuba" were a farce, a fraud, and a sham designed to pave the way for plunging the country into a most infamous and most iniquitous war? On the other hand, did the placid indifference with which we contemplated the atrocities in the Philippine Islands arise from the fact that it is part and parcel of our national belief and national faith that Americans hold a license from Almighty God authorizing them to commit any and all manner of crimes upon any and all other nations and races of men on earth?

Look at the incident at Oroquieta which we have previously noted. An American soldier was murdered in a store at that place. A body of American troops stationed at another locality repaired to Oroquieta and killed eighty-nine natives. There was no pretense at investigation for the purpose of ascertaining by whom the American soldier was killed. There was even no pretense that the parties concerned in the murder of the American soldier were included among the natives who were slain. The troops shot down

everything in sight, and asked no questions. Right here we challenge any and all advocates and apologists for the infamous attack made upon Spain in 1898 by these United States to adduce a single instance in the experience of Cuba in which the Spanish soldiery were guilty of any such wholesale massacre as was perpetrated at Oroquieta in the Philippine Islands. And yet this great crime did not evoke the slightest manifestation of feeling anywhere throughout these United States. We heard much of the horrors of the reconcentrado system established by the Spanish in Cuba. And yet our American generals adopted and enforced this same reconcentrado system in many portions of the Philippine Islands. They ordered the natives to gather within certain limits around towns, and notified them that all property outside of these limits would be confiscated and that all persons found outside of these limits would be regarded as outlaws and public enemies—which simply means that they were to be shot on sight. Look at the wholesale burning of Filipino towns. Look at the destruction of Filipino crops. With this damning record staring him in the face, let no American be so shameless as to utter another syllable in condemnation of Spanish rule in Cuba. To every one who does not forever hold his peace on this subject comes home the admonition of Scripture:

“Thou hypocrite, first pluck the beam out of thine own eye, then shalt thou see clearly to remove the mote that is in thy brother’s eye.”

But before passing this point in our discussion, we beg leave to say that unduly harsh judgment should not be rendered against the soldiery. It is undoubtedly true that the world's professional soldiery is the most brutal element in the world's population. The very vocation of the professional soldier, the vocation of slaughtering human beings, is necessarily brutalizing and beastly in the highest degree. It is said to have been a maxim of Napoleon that if a soldier is not already a depraved being he should be made such as soon as possible. And it requires but short experience in professional soldiers' life to plant the feet of the novice on the road to ruin. Wherever a body of professional soldiers is permanently located a moral plague-spot speedily appears.

But in guerilla warfare soldiers are subject to great provocations. When a nation is conquered and held in subjection by troops from a foreign country, there will be more or less of friction and irritation and mutual hatred between the people and the soldiers. This hatred is liable to break out in deeds of violence. A number of soldiers, perhaps unarmed, in passing along a road are fired upon from a thicket and several of them are killed or wounded. An immediate and thorough search reveals no trace of their assailants. The only persons to be found are farmers who are apparently engaged in their usual avocations and who stoutly aver that they have seen nothing and know nothing of any armed men in that vicinity. Another attack of the same character occurs, and all investiga-

tion again proves fruitless. These scenes are repeated. The soldiers find the dead bodies of their comrades in a horrible state of mutilation. They become infuriated and kill and burn in all directions. But the primary responsibility for such horrid deeds rests not upon the soldiers, but upon the wicked men who sent the soldiers abroad upon their errand of death. In all ages and in all lands the professional soldiers are poor fools, and poor and miserable tools in the hands of scheming, intriguing, unscrupulous, villainous rulers, who inaugurate wars for the purpose of securing their own personal aggrandizement and personal power. The iniquity of rulers who send troops abroad to murder the innocent people of a foreign nation in order to make political capital for themselves at home, passes description. This stout and stiff old Anglo-Saxon speech of ours writhes and bends and utterly breaks down in any attempt to paint their wickedness. In comparison with such fiends, such Christian fiends, filled of course with the spirit of Jesus, filled of course with Christian life and Christian light and Christian love and Christian holiness—in comparison with such fiends the average Apache Indian with his girdle of human scalps about his waist becomes a white-robed seraph pluming his wings for flight to realms of supernal glory and eternal bliss. And yet in the year 1898 at Washington, in these United States, just such fiends made that piratical attack upon Spain as a winning political card, as a means of enhancing their own

political prestige and political renown and political power.

Bearing on this point we quote the words of Hon. George F. Hoar, late United States Senator from Massachusetts:

"The blood of the slaughtered Filipinos, the blood
"and wasted health and life of our own soldiers, is
"upon the heads of those who have undertaken to
"buy a people in the market like sheep or to treat
"them as a lawful prize and booty of war, to impose
"a government on them without their consent and
"to trample under foot not only the people of the
"Philippine Islands, but the principles upon which
"the American Republic itself rests. The law of
"righteousness and justice on which the great and
"free American people should act, and in the end, I
"am sure, will act, depends not upon parallels of
"latitude and meridians of longitude or points of the
"compass. It is the same always. It is as true now
"as when our fathers declared it in 1776. It is as
"binding upon William McKinley to-day as it was
"upon George Washington or Abraham Lincoln.
"The only powers of government the American
"people can recognize are just powers, and those
"powers rest upon the consent of the governed."

In addressing the United States Senate Mr. Hoar said:

"When you determined to resort to force to conquer the Filipinos, you took upon yourselves every
"natural consequence of such action. The natural

“ result of a conflict of arms between a people coming out of oppression and a highly civilized people—one weak and the other strong, with all the powers and resources of civilization—is inevitably, as everybody knows, that there will be cruelty on one side and retaliation by cruelty on the other. You knew it even before it happened, as well as you know it now that it has happened; and the responsibility is yours.

“ If, in a conflict between a people fighting for independence and liberty, being a weak people, and a people striving to deprive them of their independence and liberty, being a strong people always—if the nature of man remains unchanged—if the war is converted in the end into a conflict in which bushwhacking, treachery and cruelty have to be countered, the responsibility is with the men who made the war. Conflicts between white races and brown races, or red races, or black races, between superior races and inferior races, are always cruel on both sides, and the men who decree with full notice that such conflicts shall take place are the men on whom the responsibility rests. The Senator from Wisconsin declared that we would have no talk with men with arms in their hands, whether we were right or wrong. The responsibility for everything that has happened since, which he must have foreseen if he knew anything of history and human nature, rests upon him and the men who acted with him.”

But granting that the Spanish in Cuba may have committed atrocities as fearful as those perpetrated by the Americans in the Philippines, granting even that the struggle in Cuba was attended by unexampled and unparalleled horrors, nevertheless this circumstance does not afford the slightest shadow of an excuse for the war upon Spain. The world can not for a moment tolerate the monstrous proposition that a nation clothed with gigantic power and possessed of unlimited resources is thereby authorized to dictate to any weaker nation in regard to the management of its internal affairs, and is further authorized to subjugate and trample down and murder the people of that weaker nation in case of neglect or refusal to comply with its demands. To accept such a principle is to indorse and approve and commend the horrid deeds of every one of the bloody conquerors who for thousands of years have incessantly ravaged the face of the earth with fire and sword, who have whitened the hillsides of the world with human bones, have reddened the rivers of the world with human gore and have filled the atmosphere of the heavens with the smoke of burning cities and the dying shrieks of millions of helpless and hopeless victims. Establish such a principle, such a theory, such a rule, and every one of the powerful robber nations of the earth will be at liberty to trump up false charges in regard to the internal affairs of any weaker neighbor, and may at once proceed to let loose the dogs of war.

We have previously discussed the duties of nations in their dealings with each other. We have previously maintained that nations in their dealings with each other should be governed by the same moral principles as are recognized as binding upon individuals in their private life. We defy any one to dispute the correctness of our position. A wise and beneficent and righteous individual in private life will be gentle and kindly and courteous and considerate and respectful in all his dealings with his fellow men. A wise and beneficent and righteous ruler of a nation will be gentle and kindly and courteous and considerate and respectful in all his dealings, even with the feeblest of nations. A wise and beneficent and righteous individual would no more think of wickedly and wantonly murdering an innocent neighbor than he would think of wickedly and wantonly murdering his own innocent child. A wise and beneficent and righteous ruler would no more think of murdering an innocent person of another nation than he would think of murdering his own innocent child. A wise and beneficent and righteous individual would not rob a weaker neighbor of his purse, would not rob a weaker neighbor of his goods, would not rob a weaker neighbor of his house and lands, even though he could do so with perfect impunity. A wise and beneficent and righteous ruler would not rob a weaker nation of its possessions after the manner in which the infamous demagogues at Washington in 1898 robbed Spain of her possessions.

simply because they knew she was too weak to offer effectual resistance.

But granting again that Cuba was a scene of untold horrors and misery, there must have been some proper mode of procedure whereby the people of the earth could labor for the alleviation of that misery. And that mode of procedure consisted in the exercise of a powerful moral influence. It is moral influence, healthy, wholesome moral influence, all-pervading and all-potent moral influence, and not the eleven-inch shell, that is to be relied upon for the regeneration of the world. If a friend or acquaintance of yours followed a mode of life or engaged in a line of business or indulged in personal habits that promised to prove destructive to his health and happiness and prosperity, and to the happiness and prosperity of his family, you would deem it your duty to remonstrate and plead with the man, to endeavor to convince him of the error of his ways, to endeavor to induce him to change his course. If you were to kill the man, and kill his wife and children, and burn his house, and seize upon and convert to your own use all his available possessions, you would not, unless you were an American politician or an American clergyman of exceedingly high degree and high renown, have the impudence to claim that you had thereby assisted in introducing the era of universal peace on earth and universal good-will to men. And if one man has no moral right to kill an individual in order to "reform"

him, then a million men have no moral right to kill an individual in order to "reform" him.

The true course for the United States to pursue in regard to Cuban affairs was to present to Spain a note reading about in this wise:

The United States recognizes the fact that the government of Spain in the exercise of its legitimate functions is entitled to make use of all necessary armed force for the suppression of any rebellion against its authority in any portion of its territorial domains. It is to be noted, however, that in this modern age and at this present day the universal sentiment of the civilized world is strongly in favor of circumscribing and limiting the horrors and miseries that are necessarily attendant upon all active warfare. The sentiment of the world is strongly in favor of affording protection to the lives, the persons, the property and homes of all noncombatants. In accordance with this worldwide sentiment it is respectfully suggested that the government of Spain appoint a commission composed of competent, upright and humane individuals with directions to repair at once to the island of Cuba, to examine into the condition of all classes of people on that island as affected by the war, and to report thereupon at the earliest date.

By order of the President.

(Signed) JOHN SHERMAN,
Secretary of State.

Some such note as the foregoing should have been drawn up by order of the President, and signed by

himself as well as by his Secretary of State, and forwarded to Spain. It will be observed that there is nothing whatever in the wording of this proposed note that could possibly give offense to the proudest and most sensitive of nations. The note does not allege that distress is actually existing in Cuba. It does not even allege that distress is reported as existing in Cuba. It simply alludes to the "horrors and miseries that are necessarily attendant upon all active warfare," and thereby opens the way for the inference that Cuba may be suffering under the afflictions that visit and scourge all lands where human wickedness is reveling in human slaughter. A copy of this note should have been sent to the government of each of the civilized nations of the world with the request that such government proceed to draw up a note of similar tenor and similar spirit and forward the same to the government of Spain. Each of these governments should also have been requested to send a commission to the island of Cuba in order to obtain full and complete information in regard to the condition of things prevailing there.

But most efficacious for throttling the horrible war movement of 1898 would have been the convening of a World's Congress on International Affairs. Most efficacious for throttling any and all threatened war movements of the future would be the establishment of a World's Congress as a recognized instrumentality for giving expression to the world's sentiments. Nothing of the kind and character and nature of that which

we here propose has ever yet been known in the world's history. Of course there have been so-called world's congresses by the score. There have been world's congresses of the adherents of the different forms of religion. There have been world's congresses of the individuals engaged in the different departments of scientific investigation. There have been world's congresses of the persons connected with literary, industrial and charitable associations. But we here speak of a World's Congress on International Affairs, a World's Congress that shall deal with the questions between nations, that shall deal with the issues that threaten to breed strife and contests between nations.

The government of the United States should have called for the meeting of such a World's Congress for the consideration of Cuban affairs. The use of the Capitol at Washington should have been proffered for holding the sessions of the Congress. A liberal appropriation should have been made for paying the expenses of the delegates to the Congress. Every one of the so-called civilized nations of the earth should be requested to send to the Congress a delegation composed of half a dozen or a dozen or more of its ablest statesmen. Each nation should be entitled to cast one vote in the Congress for its nationality and one additional vote for every million of civilized population it may possess and also one vote for any major fraction of a million of civilized population. The delegation from each country should vote as a unit, and should cast the entire vote of the nation it represents.

Under this plan there would have been a full, complete and genuine World's Congress, worthy of its name. The whole civilized world would have been represented. That World's Congress would have had a constituency of 450 millions or 500 millions of people. Each of the smaller nations would have exercised a power proportioned to its numerical strength. Holland and Belgium would have been there. Denmark and Switzerland and Greece would have been there. Servia and Roumania and Bulgaria would have been there. Canada would have been there. Australia and New Zealand would have been there. Cape Colony would have been there. The Boer Republics of South Africa would have been there in 1898, for they had not at that time passed out of existence. The Spanish-American republics of Central and South America would have all been there.

As a matter of course this World's Congress at the outset of its career would have no legal power whatever; but it would have an unprecedented moral power. It would at once attract the most earnest gaze of the entire world, and would awaken the liveliest expectations of its future usefulness to the human race. In regard to any issue between two nations, in regard to any threatened or pending difficulty between two nations that might come before this World's Congress for consideration, the great majority of the members of the Congress would be in the position of neutrals, and would therefore be entirely capable of exercising unbiased judgment and of forming and ex-

pressing opinions in a spirit of mutual friendship for the parties concerned. This assemblage of the world's statesmen would present an array of talent, of learning, of wisdom, of experience, of tact, of skill that would give great value to all its discussions and great weight to all its conclusions. Seldom, indeed, would any nation have the hardihood to decline the recommendations of the World's Congress. And as this Congress by averting bloodshed between nations would prove to be of incalculable value to all mankind, its power and influence would constantly increase. Out of this germ therefore would finally develop a Federation of the World, a Government of the World, a Parliament of the World, a Court of the World, and wars would be no more.

And we here beg leave to say that a World's Congress was the only possible means of securing a righteous adjudication of Cuban affairs. There was absolutely no excuse whatever for interference by any one nation in the affairs of Spain in Cuba. Spain had not in any way, shape or manner injured any nation on the face of the earth. Spain had not in any manner encroached or trespassed or infringed upon the rights or interests or privileges of any nation on earth. And if the Spanish government had unnecessarily inaugurated an era of unexampled horrors and suffering and misery in the island of Cuba, it was not a crime against any one nation. It was a crime against universal humanity. It was a crime against the entire human race. It was a crime against the whole world, and the

whole world should have been joined in an effort for relief. And a movement of the whole world in this matter would have been attended with such moral mightiness, such impressiveness, such dignity, such calmness and deliberation as would have insured the universal acceptance of its advice.

The primary promoter of the horrible deeds of 1898 was the American Satanic Press, the most effective of all conceivable instrumentalities for sapping and undermining the foundations of public and private morality, for debauching, debasing and degrading the rising generation, for inaugurating and perpetuating an era of unblushing vice and unpunished crime. The Satanic Press is of recent origin. It was unknown in the days of our fathers. Those of us whose period of observation reaches back to the first half of the last century have witnessed the entire growth and development of this phenomenal monstrosity. Time was, when the journals of America could have laid claim to respectability and usefulness. Time was, when there were journals in America that exercised a most powerful and most beneficial influence in impressing higher ideals of life and higher ideals of duty upon the minds of the masses of the people. Horace Greeley's great paper, the New York Tribune, will be remembered as a blessing to the country. Footing his way into New York city as an inexperienced youth, with all his earthly possessions tied up in a handkerchief and carried on a stick over his shoulder, this man founded and built up a public journal that made

him ruler of a mighty moral empire. Every column of his paper was so stamped with his strong personality, so stamped with his vigorous mentality, so stamped with unmistakable evidence of his earnestness, his uprightness, his conscientiousness, his sincerity, his genuine, unfeigned love for his fellow-men, that from the banks of the Penobscot to the banks of the Missouri the people looked to him for guidance, and rendered him unwavering support.

But times have changed and newspapers have changed. It is extremely doubtful whether any more Horace Greeleys will appear in the world, and it is absolutely certain that no more Horace Greeleys would be wanted or commissioned or employed in any capacity in any of the great newspaper establishments of the day. The metropolitan journal does not want in its employ any man who would be hampered or embarrassed by conscientious scruples in the execution of any work that might be assigned him. The great newspaper establishment of the day is a capitalistic affair, backed up by millions of dollars. The newspaper is founded and equipped and run for the sole purpose of making money, just as a cotton mill or a woolen mill or an iron mill is built and run for the purpose of making money. And experience has fully shown that there is no limit to the amount of villainy to which the American Satanic Press is prepared to resort in order to make money. For the coin they will oppose any cause, however just and righteous and beneficent that cause may be. For the coin

they will advocate any cause, however iniquitous or infamous that cause may be. For the coin they will undertake to ruin the business of the most honest and upright of men, or to ruin the reputation of the purest and best of women. The corrupt and villainous journal will flaunt in the face of a wealthy victim a written narrative of his misdeeds in some shameful act of bygone years, and will threaten the publication of that narrative if thousands and tens of thousands in coin are not immediately forthcoming to purchase silence. To the Satanic Press it is entirely immaterial whether they publish truth or falsehood. If falsehood attracts more readers than truth, if it increases the number of subscribers, if it increases the circulation and thus paves the way for an increase of advertising patronage, then falsehood is published with sensational headlines and is scattered broadcast throughout the land. As a matter of fact, the columns of the Satanic Press perpetually reek with falsehood that is never rectified or retracted.

But far worse than the role of blackmailer and highwayman which is played by the Satanic Press is the horrid work it accomplishes in the line of public and private moral contamination. In its every issue the Satanic Press is a diurnal concrete of rascality and nastiness. It gathers up all the scandal, all the iniquity, all the acts of immorality and vice and crime of the preceding twenty-four hours, and as regularly as the sun rises it serves up the nauseous, fetid, putrid and putrefying mass for the delectation of its readers.

It crawls over the threshold of every family with its filthy and slimy trail. It fills the sacred precincts of home with the foul atmosphere of the racetrack, with the foul atmosphere of the pool-room, with the foul atmosphere of the prizefight, with the foul atmosphere of the gambling-den, with the foul atmosphere of the bawdy-house, with the foul atmosphere of the slums, the gutters, the dives, and the deadfalls. It renders all our children entirely familiar with the aspect of every form of vice and crime, and pre-eminently fits them for embracing a life of vice and crime. The Satanic Press is doing more to debauch and demoralize and break down and ruin the rising generation than all our schools and churches and societies and associations can possibly do to elevate and improve and save them. The crying need of the hour is the breaking of the chains which bind the people to the Juggernaut car of the Satanic Press.

In a sermon to the graduating class of Stanford University on May 24, 1903, Rev. Heber Newton pictured in vivid colors the infamy and iniquity of the Satanic Press. His address was entitled, "The Patterns on the Mount." It was based on words from the Bible which run in this wise: "See that thou make thy people after the pattern which hath been shown thee on the mount." The object of the address was to impress upon the minds of the youthful graduates the duty of preserving through life the noble ideals that had been constantly kept before them

in their college career. We give the following extracts:

"For every life that exists, for every work that is
" to be done as a calling of God, there is a pattern in
" the heavens. For every man or woman there is an
" ideal of his or her life, which is none other than
" the divine idea, none other than God's thought of
" what he or she should do. The true success of life
" lies in the loyal following of these heavenly patterns.
" The real failures of life are found where these divine
" visions are lost, and lower working models are substituted.

"The college graduate who is looking forward to
" the career of journalism is led up the mount and
" beholds these patterns shown him by the Divine
" Hand, the true working models of his professional
" career. In his early enthusiasm he kindles at the
" sight of these ideals and longs to show how a man
" can make true to his visions and yet be successful
" in life. He sees in the years before him the reporter
" who will tell the truth whatever it may cost; who
" will make up no lies when facts are too scant to furnish his column; who will suppress scandal though
" it might make an interesting tidbit for the news department; who will respect the privacy of home;
" who will act like a gentleman always. He sees the
" editorial writer in the years still further ahead writing as he honestly believes, expressing his sincere
" convictions, insisting on making the editorial page
" an educator that may rank with the pulpit and the

“college chair as among the true intellectual and
“moral forces of the land. He forecasts the success-
“ful manager who writes above his desk the motto,

“‘WE PRINT ALL THE NEWS THAT’S FIT TO PRINT,’
“and who resolutely strikes out all other items, how-
“ever useful they might seem to be as a means of in-
“creasing circulation. How attractive and alluring
“the vision of this journalist that is to be!

“And then the enthusiastic young newspaper man
“comes down from his mount of vision into the damp,
“chill air of the valleys, where men are crowding one
“another in the mad scramble for success, and he
“sees that the men who are forging ahead have their
“eyes on other working models than those once
“shown him on the mount.

“He observes the reporter who becomes a sleuth-
“hound on the track of every scandal, intent on trac-
“ing it to its lair and dragging its beastliness out
“from the hiding-place of darkness into the piteous
“publicity of the light; the fiend who gives to the
“whole community the sad and shameful story of the
“reprobate of the family, to conceal which has been
“the one burning anxiety of the whole household;
“the wretch who, to make up a telling article, does
“not shrink from exploring the sewers of a great city
“and stirring up diligently its rotting nastiness and
“its foul-smelling pruriencies, mindless of the smutch
“and smell of his own garments, if so be that he can
“bring some most offensive bit of offal to the surface
“of society as worry meat for the human hounds.

"He discerns the next day the editorial writer who
" does not hesitate to sell his pen to the highest bidder
" in the journalistic market; who writes one day on
" behalf of the tariff and the next day on behalf of
" free trade; who does not hesitate to use the critical
" columns of his paper to pay back personal grudges
" against actors and singers, mindless of what reputa-
" tions are ruined or what careers are blighted, so
" that he has a brilliant and slashing article over which
" the whole town will talk for twenty-four hours.

"He visions in the far future the editor-in-chief who
" sneeringly smiles at the motto of his office,
" 'WE PRINT ALL THE NEWS THAT'S UNFIT TO PRINT,'
" so long as it sells editions of the paper. He sees a
" business manager who will succeed in building up
" a great paper, with a huge circulation and a vast ad-
" vertising business, but a paper which beclouds all
" ideals, stifles all enthusiasm, betrays all convictions
" and shadows life with sin and suffering."

In regard to the iniquity of the American Satanic Press we will put upon the witness-stand no less a personage than Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul. If in the history of these United States there has ever been a more despicable character than William McKinley, it is the high dignitary of the church who disgraced his sacred calling by playing the part of clerical flunkey and clerical toady to William McKinley. Throughout all of William McKinley's career of wickedness, while he was engaged in the commission of the most horrible crimes ever known on the

face of the earth, this man John Ireland lauded and glorified him as the incarnation of the highest type of American manhood and American statesmanship and American patriotism. And yet from the words of John Ireland himself which we here give, and which are tantamount to a confession of his share in the crime, it would seem that during all that war, down in the deepest depths of his heart and soul and mind, he fully understood and appreciated the iniquity of the damnable deeds that were then transpiring. In an address delivered July 9, 1902, before the National Educational Association at Minneapolis, John Ireland said:

"I am one of those who see in the sequence of the
" late Spanish-American war the guiding hand of a
" mighty providence and the outburst of forces long
" gathering in the bosom of the Nation, sure, at one
" moment or another, to break out in a resistless self-
" assertion. Nevertheless, I shall never deny that
" among the immediate causes of the war there are to
" be numbered the exaggerated statements, the lies,
" too, and the calumnies, the ceaseless appeals to wild
" and reckless passion which disfigured and disgraced
" the utterances of certain newspaper writers and of
" certain other manipulators of public opinion. I
" know for a fact that the instructions going from
" the office of a newspaper to its European correspond-
" ent read in this wise:

“ ‘SEND ALL THE NEWS THAT MAKES FOR WAR, AND
“ NOTHING THAT TENDS TO PREVENT OR DELAY WAR.’ ”

“ We can never approve the methods in which falsehood and passion play a large part; and we cannot
“ but assert that it were immensely better for the
“ country if results attained through war should have
“ been attained without the carnage and havoc of war.
“ Journalism that is honest and honorable is one of
“ the nation’s most precious inheritances. Journalism
“ which places notoriety and self above truth and virtue,
“ and adopts as its professional tactics the stunning
“ sensation rather than the calm statements of
“ facts, is one of the nation’s direst calamities.”

John Ireland says that the war was the “outburst of forces long gathering in the bosom of the nation, sure, at one moment or another, to break out in a resistless self-assertion.” There can be no mistake as to the meaning of this language. It is identical in signification with the expression of Bismarck, who said that America was a mighty young giant, bursting with anxiety to vent his strength on some object. John Ireland says that the American people were so swollen with pride, so swollen with a sense of their power and their importance, so swollen with an appreciation of their great resources, their great numbers and their great strength, so swollen with a lust for military glory, with a lust for conquest, with a lust for blood, that an explosion was inevitable. John Ireland practically says that the war was the outbreak of pure, undisguised, unadulterated hellishness on the part of the

American people. In behalf of the American people we deny the charge. The hellishness was incarnate in the managers of the American Satanic Press. The hellishness was incarnate in the infamous demagogues who controlled the executive and legislative departments of the American government. On this occasion, at least, the spirit of diabolism was not developed among the masses of the American people until called into existence and called into activity by the machinations of William McKinley and his coadjutors in crime. As we have before stated and claimed, though the human animal is by inheritance a bloodthirsty beast, nevertheless his love of war is always dormant and harmless until the tiger is unchained by wicked rulers for sinister and selfish purposes. And it is to be further observed that if the war was the "outburst of forces long gathering in the bosom of the nation," then the war did not originate in the Cuban affair. Then the Cuban affair was a miserable, flimsy, empty and false pretext and excuse for war. Then the claim that we were actuated by philanthropic and humanitarian motives in making that cowardly and brutal attack upon poor old dying Spain was brazen falsehood and brazen hypocrisy.

But John Ireland says that among the causes of the war were "the exaggerated statements, the lies, too, and the calumnies, the ceaseless appeals to wild and reckless passion" on the part of what we term the American Satanic Press, and on the part of the demagogues who concluded that their political interests

would be subserved by following in the trail of the American Satanic Press. This being the case, why did not John Ireland then and there boldly attack the miscreants engaged in the concoction of this fiendish plot to plunge the country into a wicked war? Why did not John Ireland stand on the mountain tops and speak out in thunder tones that would reach to the remotest confines of the habitable globe? Why did not John Ireland warn the American people to turn a deaf ear to the infamous journals that habitually and unblushingly suppressed the publication of the truth and deluged the land with an ocean of falsehood? Why did John Ireland wait till the grass had grown green for four years over the sod that hid the pallid faces of our dead forever from our view before he discovered the simple, plain truth that the carnage and havoc of war are not conducive to human welfare and human improvement and human happiness? And yet it is not on record that he ever uttered a single syllable in condemnation of the policy that then dominated the country. Silence gives consent. And the individual occupying an influential position who stands silently by and allows his country to drift, drift, drift, into the abyss of war without making any effort to avert the catastrophe is a traitor to God and man. We read in Scripture that when the martyr Stephen was stoned to death a young man named Saul of Tarsus, who afterwards became St. Paul, was a spectator and a sympathizer with the crime. The Scripture states the case with terrible simplicity:

"AND SAUL WAS CONSENTING UNTO HIS DEATH."

And in like manner, over the innumerable mounds that cover the remains of the victims of the war, whether on the broad expanse of the American continent or in the jungles of the East Indian archipelago or on the shores of the Mediterranean or the Caribbean, over all these graves and over the floating charnel-houses that bring back from foreign lands their cargoes of American dead for burial in their native soil, over all these should appear the inscription:

"AND JOHN IRELAND WAS CONSENTING UNTO THEIR DEATH."

But John Ireland says that the infamous conduct and infamous management of American newspapers was among the immediate causes of the war. He might have said that the infamous conduct and infamous management of the American newspapers was the grand cause, the moving cause, the effective and controlling cause in plunging the country into a wicked war. He might have said that the persons in charge of the legislative and executive departments of the American government practically abdicated their functions and became the miserable, despicable tools and slaves and actuaries of the Satanic Press, whose edicts they registered and obeyed. He might have said that the sensational and lying headlines of the American newspapers, printed in letters two inches in length, actually became the governing power of the country, and indicated and shaped the national policy. One of the vilest of these vile sheets in the early part of

the year 1898 fitted out a yacht and invited members of Congress to take a trip to Cuba to inspect the condition of affairs there. A number of Congressmen were so wanting in self-respect, and so wanting in respect for the duties of the position to which they had been chosen by their people as to accept the invitation. The yacht stopped at Key West where the newspaper manager gave a banquet to his guests. In a speech at that banquet, Amos Cummings, a member of Congress from New York, said:

"The journalist is greater than the statesman. The journalist makes and unmakes statesmen. The new journalist shapes events."

Shapes events! Do these words mean that the utterances of the American Satanic Press were so replete with wisdom, so fraught with sage advice and invaluable counsel that the American nation gladly indorsed and accepted them, and shaped its policy accordingly? Not so. The words of Cummings really meant that the stream of falsehoods incessantly poured out by the American Satanic Press in regard to affairs in the island of Cuba had worked up more or less war passion among the American people; and as the war passion is the strongest passion that inspires collective humanity, no man dared face that storm of passion, no man dared contend with that passion and no man dared contend with the Satanic Press that had engendered and developed that passion. The Satanic Press could not have exercised omnipotence in effecting legislation on tariffs or legislation on trusts; but by rea-

son of the beastly and unquenchable thirst of the human race for human blood, the Satanic Press was omnipotent in plunging the country into a wicked war. Yes. The fiendish new journalist did shape events. The lying American newspapers made that Spanish war.

The character of the American Satanic Press is revealed in an incident that occurred in Chicago in 1894 at the time when the country was convulsed and paralyzed by the great railroad strike under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs. The manager of a paper directed a reporter to go and get the news in a certain quarter of the city that had been a scene of turbulence. The reporter repaired to the locality and after traversing the streets in all directions found that the excitement had subsided. He returned to the office and informed the manager that all was quiet. The manager spoke in positive tones:

“GO AND GET THE NEWS.”

The reporter obeyed the directions and went over the same ground, searching for indications of trouble and finding none. He again returned to the office and informed the manager that there was no disturbance and no prospect of any disturbance.

“GO AND GET THE NEWS,”

said the manager sternly. The reporter knew what was meant. He knew that if he did not bring in a horrible story he would be discharged as incompetent. He stepped into a back office and wrote out a blood-curdling account of mobs and riots and violence

and pillage and arson and bloodshed. His work was satisfactory. The enterprising manager of an American newspaper does not propose to be beaten in lying by the publishers of any rival sheets.

John Ireland also says that he knew for a fact that the instructions going from the office of an American newspaper to its European correspondent read in this wise:

"Send all the news that makes for war, and nothing that tends to prevent or delay war."

That is enough. That is conclusive. That single item furnishes the key to the whole situation. That single item turns the X-ray on the black hearts and black souls of the managers of the American Satanic Press and with absolute exactness gauges and fathoms the depth of their iniquity. The Latin adage runs in this wise: "*Suppressio veri, suggestio falsi.*" The suppression of truth is the suggestion of falsehood. And in point of criminality the action of a public journal in suppressing the truth does not differ from the suggestion and utterance of positive falsehood by the most infinitesimal part of a hair's breadth. And as a matter of fact the Satanic Press poured forth an endless flood of lies. We may say that over the doorways leading to the offices of all the managers of the American Satanic Press there appeared for the instruction of subordinates the following directions:

"SUPPRESS ALL TRUTH THAT PROMISES PEACE, AND MANUFACTURE ALL FALSEHOODS THAT WILL ENCOURAGE WAR."

And the facilities for the manufacture of falsehood in regard to Cuban affairs were all that could be desired by the most accomplished and inveterate of liars. To the average American the interior of the island of Cuba was a terra incognita. The average American in his home in the United States had no means of verifying or disputing any statements that might be made in regard to occurrences in Cuba. As a matter of fact there were few or no Americans in Cuba except such as were sent there by the Satanic Press to gather material that would give variety and plausibility to their falsehoods. As a specimen of the Cuban news that was daily laid before the American people by the Satanic Press we give the following:

SPANISH FIENDS!

HORRIBLE ATROCITY.

TORTURED TO DEATH.

WHOLESALE MASSACRE OF INNOCENT AND HELPLESS
PEOPLE.

Key West, Nov. 10, 1897.—Full particulars have reached this place in regard to the savage and atrocious deeds of the Spanish troops at a village forty miles from Caramanjurillo. The Spanish entered the place and made prisoners of all the people, who were then herded together. The Spanish bound all the men

hand and foot and then took them out and hung them up by the heels and roasted them to death over slow fires. Every one of the women and children were shot or bayoneted. After burning the houses the Spanish abandoned the place, leaving the bodies of their victims upon the ground as food for buzzards and vultures. A band of brave and noble and devoted Cuban patriots speedily assembled and went in pursuit of the Spanish. On overtaking them a fierce engagement ensued in which the Spanish were defeated with great slaughter. The Cubans treated their Spanish prisoners with their usual kindness, notwithstanding the fact that some of the Cubans were residents of the village that had been destroyed, and lost all their relatives in the horrible massacre.

All persons who remember the drift and tenor of the so-called telegraphic dispatches purporting to come from Key West or other points just previous to the outbreak of the Spanish war will observe that those alleged dispatches were similar in spirit and substance to the one we have here given. In the manufacture of these alleged telegraphic dispatches the necessary ingredients were Spanish atrocity, Cuban suffering, Cuban valor, Cuban victory and Cuban magnanimity. These ingredients were mixed in different proportions on different occasions, and were at all times set forth with lurid and varied embellishments. And right here we challenge the American of ordinary intelligence and the American of extraordi-

nary intelligence to dispute and disprove the statements made in this alleged telegram we have here given. It is hardly necessary to say that such challenge will not be accepted. It is hardly necessary to say that no one would dream for an instant of wasting any time or wasting any effort in attempting to track down and track home newspaper falsehoods in regard to matters alleged to have transpired in localities so remote. And yet this pretended telegram is a pure fabrication which we have manufactured and inserted here for the purpose of showing the ease with which the incarnate devils of the Satanic Press can invent falsehood, and the readiness with which the mass of American readers are prepared to accept falsehood. It may be mentioned incidentally that the name Caramanjurillo was coined for use in this pretended telegram. No place of that name is known in the island of Cuba. The scene of the alleged massacre was therefore forty miles from nowhere. This trifling circumstance, however, would not in any manner disconcert the experienced manufacturer of newspaper lies, and would not diminish the effectiveness of the false telegram as a means of "firing the Northern heart" and preparing the way for war.

But right alongside of this pretended telegram which did not appear in any public journal we will give the headlines of pretended telegrams that were actually published by the Satanic Press and spread broadcast throughout the land in furtherance of the wicked scheme to plunge the country into war. It is

to be noted that the present is the era of sensational headlines. Neither the business man nor the working man can afford time to wade through all the printed matter to be found in the columns of the daily journals. A fleeting glance at the headlines must suffice. It is the sensational headline that makes the first and deepest and most lasting impression upon the mind. The human heart and mind and soul yearns for excitement. The morbid appetite of the victim of delirium tremens craves for the fiery alcoholic potion rather than for the cool, clear water from the running spring. The morbid appetite of the public for exciting news craves for the sensational lie rather than for the plain, simple, sober truth. The biggest kind of a lie printed in the biggest kind of type finds the biggest kind of a market. Sensational headlines now rule the world. But we will proceed to give the headlines of pretended telegrams. They are credited to the Satanic Press which is a comprehensive generic term. We also have a register of the particular journals.

From the Satanic Press, Dec. 30, 1896.

SPANIARDS SLAY WOMEN OF CUBA.

SOLDIERS RAID A VILLAGE AND KILL AND BURN.

LOOT THE HOUSES AND ROB THE INHABITANTS.

FLOG YOUNG GIRLS AND SHOOT THE WOMEN.

MASSACRE OF THE PEOPLE REGARDLESS OF SEX OR AGE.

VICTIMS CAST INTO BURNING HOUSES.

Iniquity in High Places 157

From the Satanic Press, Jan. 28, 1897.

KILLED GIRLS BY WHOLESALE.

ATROCIOUS CRIMES BY BUTCHER WEYLER'S SOLDIERS.

SHOCKING DISCOVERY IN A LONELY CAVE NEAR
GUANABACOA.

FOURTEEN MAIDENS HACKED TO PIECES AND THEIR
BONES LEFT FOR DOGS TO GNAW.

From the Satanic Press, Feb. 2, 1897.

SHOOTING OF A BRAVE CUBAN PATRIOT ON THE PLAINS OF SANTA CLARA.

A HERO SACRIFICED TO THE VENGEFUL LUST OF THE
CRUEL AND MERCILESS SPANIARDS.

From the Satanic Press, Feb. 12, 1897.

SAVAGERY OF SPANIARDS.

RAVAGING CUBA WITH FIRE AND SWORD BY THE
BRUTAL SOLDIERS OF MERCILESS WEYLER.

OUTRAGE UPON OUTRAGE ON AMERICAN CITIZENS AND
CUBANS.

Iniquity in High Places

From the Satanic Press, Feb. 16, 1897.

BRUTAL WEYLER.

HIS SAVAGE SOLDIERS ARE KILLING PEOPLE, SELLING
CHILDREN AND BURNING HOUSES.

WORK OF DESTRUCTION IS UNCEASING.

From the Satanic Press, Feb. 20, 1897.

FOUL DEED OF SPANIARDS.

ANOTHER AMERICAN FALLS VICTIM TO THEIR BAR-
BAROUS METHODS.

RICARDO RUIZ FOUND DEAD IN A FILTHY DUNGEON AT
GUANABACOA.

From the Satanic Press, April 9, 1897.

SPAIN'S CRUELTY TO AMERICANS.

BARBAROUS TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

TALES OF HORROR FROM THE DUNGEONS OF CUBA.

From the Satanic Press, April 14, 1897.

VICTIMS OF THE SPANIARDS.

BUTCHER WEYLER MURDERING CUBANS.

THE WIDOWS ARE MOURNING THEIR DEAD.

Iniquity in High Places 159

From the Satanic Press, April 29, 1897.

CUBAN TOWN DESTROYED.

NOTHING LEFT BUT BLOOD AND ASHES.

150 PEOPLE BUTCHERED.

From the Satanic Press, July 12, 1897.

SAVAGE DEEDS BY WEYLER'S MEN.

SPANISH SOLDIERS ATTACK FORTY HELPLESS WOMEN
AND CHILDREN.

ATROCITY COMMITTED IN THE PROVINCE OF
SANTA CLARA.

From the Satanic Press, Jan. 7, 1897.

CRY TO HEAVEN FOR VENGEANCE.

STORIES OF SPANISH ATROCITIES ALMOST BEYOND
BELIEF.

SIXTEEN BODIES DISCOVERED IN A RAVINE NEAR
GUANABACOA.

From the Satanic Press, Nov. 16, 1896.

CUBA CRIES FOR HELP.

CIVILIZATION AND HUMANITY DEMAND RELIEF.

160 Iniquity in High Places

From the Satanic Press, Jan. 14, 1897.

NOW IS THE TIME TO INTERVENE IN CUBA.

SPAIN WOULD BE DRIVEN FROM THE SEAS IN CASE
OF WAR.

THE FORTS AT HAVANA COULD NOT STOP THE YANKEES.

From the Satanic Press, Feb. 13, 1897.

SPANISH INSOLENCE DEMANDS REPROOF.

THE UNITED STATES SHOULD DISCIPLINE THE
HAUGHTY DONS.

SHIPS OF WAR OUGHT TO BE SENT TO HAVANA.

From the Satanic Press, Feb. 21, 1897.

PLOT OF SPAIN AGAINST AMERICA.

DETAILS OF THE CONSPIRACY.

From the Satanic Press, Nov. 17, 1896.

WAR WITH SPAIN IS POSSIBLE.

WOULD SINK SPANISH FLEETS.

From the Satanic Press, Nov. 13, 1896.

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT GETTING READY
FOR CONFLICT.

HURRIED PREPARATIONS TO GUARD AGAINST SPANISH
INVASION.

FORTIFICATIONS ALONG THE GULF AND ATLANTIC
COASTS READY FOR ARMAMENT.

MEN WORKING NIGHT AND DAY TO GET THE SHIPS OF
THE ATLANTIC SQUADRON READY FOR SERVICE.

From the Satanic Press, Jan. 13, 1898.

HAVANA MOBS MAY GIVE McKINLEY
CAUSE FOR INTERVENTION
IN CUBA.

WAR OR PEACE THE ISSUE NOW TREMBLING IN THE
SCALE.

These last headlines should receive close inspection. A mob in Havana composed mainly of Spanish Volunteers had sacked several newspaper offices. Not a single individual was injured, and the mob was immediately suppressed by troops from the neighboring forts. And yet the American Satanic Press had the brazen impudence to insinuate or intimate that this circumstance might justify the American Government in making war upon Spain! When was it established

as a principle of international law that the outbreak of a mob in any one country justified foreign nations in making war upon that country? A few years ago there were terrible riots in the City of Prague in the Austrian Empire. The intense hatred prevailing between the German element of the population and the native Czech element broke out in desperate fighting in which many lives were lost and much property destroyed. Did any one in America claim that this circumstance might give the President of the United States cause for intervention in Austrian affairs? Did any one suggest that an American fleet should cross the Atlantic Ocean, pass through the Mediterranean Sea, pass up the Adriatic and commence bombarding the Austrian city of Trieste on account of a mob in another Austrian city several hundred miles distant? When France was convulsed by the Dreyfus agitation the whole population of that country was possessed of a spirit of relentless animosity toward the Jewish race. That feeling spread across the Mediterranean to the French province of Algeria in Africa. A mob attacked the Jewish quarter in the city of Algiers, murdered Jewish merchants and plundered and destroyed their property. Did any one in America claim that this circumstance might give the President of the United States cause for intervention in French affairs? Did any one suggest that an American fleet should enter the harbor of Marseilles and bombard that French city? In 1863, during our Civil War, there was a terrible draft riot in the city of New

York. As there was not a sufficient number of voluntary enlistments to keep the armies in the field up to the required standard of strength the Government of the United States was under the necessity of resorting to draft to obtain soldiers. The draft was enforced in New York city as well as in other places. The city was divided into districts with specified boundaries. In each of these districts the names of all men subject to military duty were collected by government officials. The names were written on separate strips of paper, and each strip was rolled up in the form of a ball and placed in a glass jar to be drawn therefrom by lot. Of course this proceeding was intensely disagreeable to the masses of the people. If a workingman had a wife and children to support, it would seem to be a terrible outrage that he should be seized by force of arms and dragged to a battlefield a thousand miles away and compelled to fight for his life, and possibly compelled to sacrifice his life in expiation of the sins of the politicians who made the war. When the time came for commencing the draft a great crowd gathered in each district to watch the operation. A slight commotion having occurred in one district the crowd made a rush for the platform, drove off the Government officials, smashed the glass jars and scattered their contents over the floor. As soon as the news of this violence spread abroad a similar explosion occurred in every other district and a howling mob took possession of the city. As the war was the result of the quarrel between the

North and the South in regard to negro slavery the New York mob, with the brutal and beastly idiocy characteristic of all mobs, apparently considered that the negroes of their city were responsible for the war. Negroes were therefore slaughtered without mercy, wherever found. If a negro appeared upon the street he was hunted down and brained like a mad dog. The body of a murdered negro was suspended from a branch of a tree in the park at the City Hall, and a fire was built under it for the purpose of consuming the corpse.

But suppose that the English newspapers of that period were in the hands of miscreants as foul and fiendish and depraved as those who were in control of the American Satanic Press at the time of the Spanish war or who are in control of the American Satanic Press at this day and date. Suppose that the British Satanic Press was striving with all its might and main to force the British government to make an attack upon the United States. Suppose that the British Satanic Press was determined to take advantage of the pending opportunity to crush the American Union into jarring and quarreling fragments that would be powerless and harmless forevermore. Suppose that the British Satanic Press was constantly demanding that the British government should intervene in the affairs of the United States. Suppose that the British Satanic Press was demanding that the British Navy should gather at Halifax as a menace and a threat to the United States just as the American Navy was

gathered at Key West as a menace and threat to Spain in 1898. Suppose that the British Satanic Press was demanding that the British Navy should swoop down with resistless force upon the American coast, completely and hopelessly blockading and sealing up the Northern ports, and opening the ports of the South and the cotton trade of the South to the commerce of the world, driving the Stars and Stripes off the ocean and enabling the rebel flag to float in undisturbed repose from the masthead of vessels in every quarter of the globe. Suppose that the British Satanic Press in its every daily issue plastered over the surface of the British Islands with broad sheets of falsehood in regard to American affairs. Suppose that with glaring sensational headlines the American Union armies were charged with the commission of the most horrible atrocities upon the people of the Southern States. Suppose that the riot in New York had been announced in the following language:

NEW YORK MOB MAY GIVE QUEEN VICTORIA
CAUSE FOR INTERVENTION IN
THE UNITED STATES.

WAR OF PEACE THE ISSUE NOW TREMBLING IN
THE SCALE.

If the British press in 1863 had made use of such language in regard to the New York riot we can readily imagine what the feelings of the American people would have been. The American people would have

been most rightfully and righteously indignant at such outrageous impudence and such unparalleled meanness. And yet when the American Satanic Press used precisely the same language in regard to Spanish affairs in Cuba the American people listened without apparent sense of shame and without any apparent compunctions of conscience. Our opinions in regard to any particular act of injustice and iniquity depend largely upon the question as to whether we are the victims or the perpetrators of that injustice and iniquity.

The sensational headlines, which we have here given, fully substantiate our claim that the origin of that wicked, piratical Spanish war is directly traceable to the American Satanic press, the foulest and most loathsome of all fungous growths upon the modern body social and body politic. It is said that an individual who persistently persecutes an innocent victim—who persistently practices brutality and cruelty and iniquity upon an innocent victim—finally comes to hate that victim with a hatred that passes description. It may possibly be said that it was in accordance with this law of nature that the attitude of the American Satanic Press toward Spain was developed. The Satanic Press had for so long a time reviled and slandered Spain, had for so long a time belied and maligned a nation that was peaceable and friendly and innocent and unoffending so far as the United States was concerned that that press became entirely demoniac in spirit and temper. And the

rampant diabolism of the American Satanic Press as revealed in these lying headlines is patent to all observers. Every word and every syllable in these lines gleams with malice and hate—gleams with fierce and insatiable desire for the shedding of innocent blood. And the constant exhibition of this fiendish malignity, the constant iteration and reiteration of these foul falsehoods must have had its effect in poisoning the public mind, and in paving the way for plunging the country into a most iniquitous and most unnecessary war. We repeat our former quotation from the words of John Ireland:

“Among the immediate causes of the war there
“are to be numbered the exaggerated statements, the
“lies, too, the calumnies, the ceaseless appeals to wild
“and reckless passion which disfigured and disgraced
“the utterances of certain newspaper writers and of
“certain other manipulators of public opinion.”

Just here we wish to make another quotation from the utterances of Archbishop Ireland. The Dreyfus affair will be remembered by all. Dreyfus was a Jewish officer in the French army, and apparently for no other reason than the fact that he was a Jew a conspiracy seems to have been formed to drive him out of the army by making false charges against him. He was accused of selling French military secrets to the German Government. He was convicted on forged and perjured testimony, and sent to a prison in the deadly tropical climate of French Guiana, in South America. After the lapse of four years his

case was reopened, and he was brought back to France for a second trial. All France was soon in a terrible ferment. The mighty power of the military department of the government was strenuously exerted for the purpose of crushing Dreyfus and shielding the men who had borne false witness against him. The vast majority of the nation sympathized with the army. The whole country was seething with intense excitement that threatened to break out in a volcanic explosion of popular violence against the government. An incident that occurred at this time shows the dangerous state of public feeling. A judge of the court in which Dreyfus was to be tried had occasion to appoint some person to perform certain duties in connection with the trial. It was alleged that he appointed a particular individual because that individual was friendly to Dreyfus. The judge indignantly denied the charge. He said that he appointed that individual because he was an unmarried man, and would therefore more boldly face the threats of death made against all persons who should do their duty in connection with the trial than would a married man, who would shrink from the prospect of assassination for fear his wife and children would be left destitute in the world.

But the court dared not grant an acquittal to Dreyfus, even though there was no credible evidence against him. The court dared not face the storm of popular wrath that an acquittal would produce. An attempt was made to appease the excited populace by

finding Dreyfus guilty of an alleged breach of duty, which was of minor importance, requiring only the semblance of a penalty.

The American people watched the Dreyfus trial with the closest attention. When it was found that the ends of justice had not been clearly and fully attained there was, to say the least, a strong feeling of dissatisfaction. It was proposed to hold an indignation meeting, or a series of meetings, to voice the sentiments of the American people in regard to the action of the French Government and French court. In reference to the proposed indignation meeting, John Ireland, on September 13, 1899, at St. Paul, Minnesota, said:

"It is my belief that public meetings in America, " such as it is proposed to hold for the purpose of " protesting against the sentence of the Rennes court- " martial, are untimely, unfair to France, and likely " to breed regrettable ill-feeling between that country " and our own. I shall not deny that I always had in " my heart deep sympathy for the unfortunate officer " who has been under trial in Rennes, and that I had " wished and hoped that the sentence of the court " would be one of acquittal. But it is another ques- " tion to face the verdict of the court the moment that " verdict has been declared with the assertion that it " is plainly against truth, and that the court from " which it issues is guilty of base injustice and sacri- " legious perjury. And it is still more so another " question to lay upon France the crime of the ver-

“dict, if crime there be in it, and to throw at a whole
“people and at their government insulting epithets.
“Let us wait.

“This whole matter belongs to the internal life and
“to the internal administration of France, and inter-
“national courtesy as well as justice bid us talk about
“it very carefully and very slowly. France is a
“proud and sensitive nation. She will deeply resent,
“as it is her right, undue criticism and hasty judg-
“ment of her acts by a foreign people, and especially
“will she resent, as it is surely her right, any un-
“called for interference with her internal adminis-
“tration and any imprudent challenging of her national
“honor.”

Observe the tender solicitude with which the reverend gentleman would shield French sensibilities from unfavorable comments on French national affairs. He says that France is a proud, sensitive nation. Why could he not have said that Spain was a proud, sensitive nation? He says that France will deeply resent, as it is her right, any undue criticism of her acts by a foreign people. Why could he not have said that Spain will deeply resent, as it is her right, any undue criticism of her acts by a foreign people? He says that France will especially resent, as it is surely her right, any uncalled for interference with her internal administration. Why could he not have said that Spain will especially resent, as it is surely her right, any uncalled for interference with her internal administration? Was it because France

was a great and powerful nation that the archbishop would hush all disrespectful remarks in regard to the management of French internal affairs? Was it because Spain was a weak, feeble, dying nation, that the archbishop listened in approving silence to the foul falsehoods of the American Satanic Press and American Satanic demagogues in regard to Spanish affairs, and shouted in rapturous joy when William McKinley subjugated and slaughtered Spanish peoples? William McKinley, as the reincarnation of the beastliness that inspired and controlled the bloody conquerors, the wholesale murderers of ages past, might, in strict keeping with his own character, have insisted that the weak have no rights to life, liberty, or property, which the strong are bound to respect; but John Ireland, as the professed servant or professional servant of Jesus Christ, would find it difficult to quote any utterances of the Master that would authorize him to serve as clerical puppet in William McKinley's triumphal train or as clerical eulogist of William McKinley's damnable deeds. It is true that four years after these events transpired the archbishop indulged in some lamentations over their occurrence, but by that time the blood in which that particular page of American history was written had become entirely dry, and the archbishop's crocodile tears had no effect in wiping out the record of his cowardly cringing, fawning servility to the wickedest of men, or his open, shameless abandonment of his duties to his God.

But while the piratical attack upon Spain in 1898

drew its inspiration from the foul falsehoods of the American Satanic Press, nevertheless the managers of the Satanic Press cannot be charged with official responsibility for the commission of the crime. The official responsibility rests upon the persons in control of the American Government. It rests upon the worthless, weak and wicked national executive and national Congress. And, furthermore, it is hardly necessary to say that the managers of the Satanic Press cannot be held accountable on the score of moral responsibility. They would seem to be too low down in the scale of being to be able to appreciate even the simplest and most primary form of moral truth. They would seem to be entirely devoid of moral perceptions or moral sense. If any of them were endowed by heredity with a moral germ that was susceptible of fruitful development—if any of them ever had any moral fiber or moral stamina in their composition, these inconvenient appurtenances and equipments would have been completely rotted out of their nature in the atmosphere of total depravity that pervades their establishments.

We are now confronted with the plain fact, the indisputable truth, that the American Congress and the American Executive were responsible for the Spanish war. No member of Congress who voted for that horrid measure can escape the charge of deliberate, cold-blooded murder except under the plea of hopeless idiocy. And yet the temptation to commit cold-blooded murder in a case of this kind is one of

the strongest temptations to which human nature can ever be exposed. The temptation in such a case is sure to overcome the scruples of the average member of any legislative body in Christendom or Heathendom. In the early stages of a war movement, when its strength is undeveloped and uncertain, it may be possible for a legislator, without jeopardizing his political future, to insist that the maintenance of peace is required by every consideration of wisdom and policy and justice and duty and right. But when it becomes an established fact that votes enough have been secured to insure a declaration of war by any legislative body, then woe to that man who dares to utter a protest against the needless shedding of human blood. Woe to that man who is so reckless as to plant himself in the pathway of the onrushing automobile of Moloch and Juggernaut. It would be better for that man that he had never been born. It would be better for that man that a millstone were fastened about his neck and he were cast into the sea. He is politically doomed and damned. He becomes an object of hatred and contempt. Wherever he goes the finger of scorn is pointed at him :

“There is the man who would not support his country’s cause in the hour of danger. There is the man who would not protect the nation’s honor. There is the man who would not preserve, untarnished, the glories of the nation’s flag.”

The individual who is the target of this storm of popular opprobrium can find an escape only in the

shades of oblivion. It will be readily understood that no legislator covets any such ignominious termination of his public career. The supreme desire, the all-controlling ambition of the politician who has succeeded in worming his way into a seat in the American Congress is to be his own successor in office, and to be his own continuous successor in office until the time when he can make use of that office as a stepping-stone to a place of greater power and greater renown and greater emolument. His grand object is to discharge his official duties in a manner that will win the favor of his constituents and insure his re-election by constantly increasing majorities. He stands ready to pander to any popular whim that promises to yield him substantial and lasting returns. As the human animal is possessed of an eternal and insatiable thirst for human gore, your legislator is prepared to deal out a sop of blood to placate the clamorous, wolfish, tigerish crowd. In 1898, when the foul falsehoods of the American Satanic Press and the foul falsehoods of the American Satanic demagogues on the floor of Congress had apparently succeeded in developing some slight symptoms of a war feeling among the American people, each and every member of Congress stood face to face with this alternative:

"By insisting on the preservation of peace I shall
"commit political suicide. By engaging in the work
"of cutting innocent Spanish throats I shall win pop-
"ularity and glory. Which course shall I take?"

The answer to this question comes like an electric

flash. Throat-cutting wins. Throat-cutting is the program. Throat-cutting is the order of the day. And yet there was absolutely no occasion whatever for an attack upon Spain. The Spanish Government had ordered that the war in Cuba be stopped. The Spanish Government had ordered that the reconcentrados be allowed to return to their homes. The Spanish Government had ordered an appropriation of funds for the relief of the reconcentrados. The Spanish Government had thrown open all Cuban ports and permitted the importation, free of tariff charges, of all food donated for the aid of the suffering people. The steamship lines between New York and Cuba were loaded down with charitable contributions of food which they carried and delivered free of cost. The Cuban railroads carried all this food free of charge throughout the length and breadth of the island. A stream of supplies had already reached Cuba sufficient to meet all wants. The American Congress knew this, and the American Congress also knew that if war were declared the supplies would be cut off and starvation would be renewed with aggravated intensity. And yet that Congress had not the moral courage to take a determined stand in favor of the maintenance of peace.

There are times in the discharge of their duty when men should not only face denunciation and obloquy and ostracism, but should even defy threatened and certain death. Suppose you are a member of a workingmen's revolutionary committee in St. Peters-

burg. You fall into the hands of the Czar's soldiers. You are informed that orders have been received that whenever and wherever you may be captured you shall instantly be put to death without trial; but if you will reveal the names of your colleagues on the committee, and also reveal the location of the headquarters of the organization you will be dismissed and allowed to leave the country in safety. You promptly reply that the Czar may have the power to put you to death, but he has not power enough to compel you or bribe you to betray your colleagues or to betray the cause to which your heart and soul and life are devoted. If you perish then and there the world will laud you as a hero.

Suppose you were a Jew in Kishineff or Odessa at the time when the most brutal and beastly of mobs was engaged in torturing and mangling and burning and disemboweling and rending in pieces all the Jewish men, women and children upon whom they could lay hands. The mob has ravaged and murdered for several successive days. It is now sweeping down the street in search of new victims. A large number of Jewish women and children are huddled together and hidden in some attic or cellar in hope of saving their lives. The mob has not been able to find them. Just at this juncture you fall into the hands of the mob while you are making a vain effort to escape from the city in disguise. The mob is about to stab and shoot and beat and trample you to death when a thought occurs to one of the leaders.

He says to you that if you will show them where the woman and children are to be found your life will be spared. You instantly reply that you will not assist him in murdering innocent women and children, even to save your own life. And you go to your inevitable doom, but with a conscience unsullied by the proposed crime.

Suppose that in the Boxer era in China a number of American missionaries are captured by a mob. Their doom is apparently sealed. But the Chinese resort to a refinement of cruelty. One of the missionaries has a family. The Chinese bind the wife and children securely together and place them upon a box containing a large quantity of dynamite. A wire connected with this dynamite leads to a safe distance, where arrangements are made for effecting an explosion. The husband and father of the family is brought forward and told that if he will press the button and explode the dynamite his life will be spared. He refuses. "Press the button or die," comes the order. He says that he will not murder his wife and children to save his own life. He is immediately cut to pieces. A second missionary is now brought forward, and told that if he will press the button his life will be spared. He refuses. "Press the button or die," comes the order. He says that he will not murder the wife and children of any man on earth in order to save his own life. He is instantly struck down. A third missionary is brought forward. "Press the button or die," comes the order.

He says he will not murder a single innocent human being in the world in order to save his own life. He, too, is slaughtered.

In like manner, in 1898, when the proposition was made to plunge the country into a most unnecessary and most iniquitous war, when the proposition was made to inaugurate an era of wholesale murder in which a countless host of innocent and helpless human beings would lose their lives, each and every member of the American Congress should have died in his tracks in the halls of the Capitol sooner than commit such a crime. But politicians and martyrs are not manufactured from the same grade of raw material. Practically every member of Congress came forward and pressed the button which opened the floodgates of hell and put in motion a wave of blood that swept around the world. And they were not compelled to do this in order to save their physical lives. Their superlatively valuable lives were in no danger. They did it to make a few paltry votes for re-election. They did it to increase their popularity. They did it to strengthen and perpetuate their political power by gratifying the bloodthirsty propensities of the human animal. In the House of Representatives all but two or three members assisted in opening up this carnival of death. Three hundred and twelve members voted for war. Three hundred and twelve moral cowards! Three hundred and twelve blood-stained assassins! Three hundred and twelve traitors to their country, to humanity and God!

We use the term, "traitors to their country," deliberately. The expression has pertinence, significance, force, as well as absolute truth. In speaking of the country to which these recreant and red-handed Congressional officials are supposed to have belonged, we do not refer to geographical outlines or geographical areas. We do not refer to millions of square miles and billions of acres of territory. We do not refer to mountains and plains and rivers and lakes and harbors and bays. We do not refer to the infinite extent and variety of natural resources, which, under the hands of hosts of artisans and toilers, are daily taking on the form of visible and tangible wealth. We do not refer to the miraculous achievements of mechanical genius that have set the continent awhir with the wheels of industry, and covered the land from ocean to ocean with a network of iron highways that bind all sections from center to circumference into an indissoluble unity. We do not refer to the millions and millions of swelling population which are but a fraction of the number that are yet to fill and crowd the national fold. In this age of material progress the varied phenomena which we have here noted are not confined to any one country, but are manifest, at least to some extent, in nearly every quarter of the globe.

But the America to which we refer is the America in whose heart and soul and life at the very outset of national existence were enshrined the immortal principles enunciated by the fathers in 1776. We

again call attention to the Declaration of Independence:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident: That
"all men are created equal; that they are endowed
"by their Creator with certain unalienable rights;
"that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit
"of happiness. That, to secure these rights, govern-
"ments are instituted among men, deriving their just
"powers from the consent of the governed."

This quotation is sufficient. It covers the whole case. In its few brief words are to be found volumes of instruction and inspiration. It is the Sermon on the Mount as applied to the affairs of governments and the affairs of nations. In the assertion and application of these sacred principles the noble and glorious American republic of the olden time, the noble and glorious American republic of more than a hundred years ago, burst in beauty ineffable upon the gaze of an astonished and admiring world. The fires kindled upon the altars of Liberty in America beamed with a radiance that illumed the darkest corners of the earth. To the suffering and down-trodden millions of the Old World the Star of the West was a sign, a token and a promise that the doors of their prison-house of bondage would yet be thrown open and they be allowed to go free.

The wording of the Declaration of Independence will bear the closest scrutiny and analysis. If the Creator endowed all men with an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, then no man

and no combination of men have any right to wickedly and wantonly attack and rob and murder their fellow-men. If governments were instituted for the sacred purpose of securing to all men their inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, then no government has any right to oppress or plunder its own people, or to conquer and trample down and enslave and butcher the people of any other nation, race or tribe. The Declaration of Independence placed the new-born American nation, the new-born child of Liberty, upon a plane of action vastly, inconceivably, above the previous level of humanity as that level had been manifest in all lands and all ages of the world. The Declaration of Independence practically and unmistakably affirmed that in all affairs and dealings between governments and nations, as in all affairs and dealings between individuals, the supreme standard of action should be the Golden Rule:

“Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so to them.”

If the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence were accepted and acted upon by all the nations, the implements of war would everywhere be cast aside and the world would witness the glorious dawn of the era of universal and eternal peace. The American doctrine, as enunciated by the fathers, practically maintains that mankind should be governed by the law of love. The doctrine of the old world as interpreted in the light of history reaching back to the remotest ages practically maintains that mankind should be gov-

erned by the law of brute force. The American doctrine virtually affirms that nations and states and peoples should be drawn together and held together only by the bonds of mutual affection and mutual interest, and that the tramp of a hireling soldiery should be heard no more in all the land. The doctrine of the old world virtually affirms that the strong may of right subjugate and enslave and slaughter the weak, and that recalcitrant nations may be ruthlessly crushed to earth and pinned down by bayonets.

We have said that the members of the American Congress that declared war against Spain in 1898 were traitors to their country, to humanity and God. We repeat the charge. They were traitors to God and man by reason of the fact that they wickedly and wantonly opened up an era of wholesale murder, in which they could not have failed to know that unnumbered myriads of innocent and helpless victims would perish. They were traitors to their country by reason of the fact that they robbed that country of her crown of glory as the land of freedom, robbed that country of her crown of glory as the land of love and liberty and peace, and to the extent of their ability and to the extent of their opportunities made that country the seat and center of a soulless, conscienceless, remorseless, blood-stained military despotism.

But infamous as were the acts of the American Congress in 1898, their criminality fades into spotless innocence when compared with the wickedness of

William McKinley. In behalf of the Congressman, it may be urged that he is compelled to vote "Aye" on any and every proposition to declare war against any nation on earth, and that, too, without regard to the merits or necessities of the case. The shedding of human blood is the chiefest delight of the human animal. The shedding of human blood is a most entrancing, most fascinating, most intoxicating delight to the whole human race, and the human race will resent any interference with the gratification of their tigerish instincts. Whenever, therefore, a proposition to declare war against any nation is sure to be sustained by a majority in Congress, every member of Congress must hasten to fall into line and act with the majority or his public career closes then and there forever. The Congressman must end his political life, or he must engage in the wholesale murder of thousands of his innocent fellow-beings.

But the President of the United States should be confronted with no such dilemma. The President of the United States should be exposed to no such temptation. The President of the United States should be sheltered behind battlements that are impregnable and impervious to the onset of any and all forms of political chicanery and political intrigue and political villainy. And this consummation so devoutly to be wished is at all times within reach of the American people. To the Constitution of the United States as it now reads let there be added a single line declaring that no person should hold the office of

President for more than one term, and the nation would be delivered from all danger of a repetition of the horrible crime committed by William McKinley in 1898. Add this brief amendment to the National Constitution, and the President will become a freed-man who is free indeed. He will be delivered from the yoke of party obligation and party domination. He will be delivered from the yoke of further political aspiration. He will be emancipated from the struggles and trials and temptations that dog the footsteps of the average man in all the ordinary and all the extraordinary paths of life. He will be released from bondage to his own greed, to his own selfishness, to his own cupidity, to his own depravity. He can no longer hope to add years to his tenure of office by the commission of the most horrible crimes. As he can not by plunging his country into a most iniquitous and most unnecessary war add one minute to the duration of his term of office he will consider such war-making a useless and profitless piece of political strategy. He will reach such conclusion, and act on such conclusion, even though in regard to the wholesale slaughter of hecatombs of his innocent fellow-beings he may have no more compunctions of conscience than had William McKinley.

If in 1898 the Constitution of the United States had contained a provision limiting the occupancy of the executive chair of the nation to but one term to any one person there would have been no Spanish war. Under such a constitutional provision, Wil-

liam McKinley would not have made that cowardly, brutal, piratical attack upon a poor old dying nation. In 1898 the grand object of William McKinley was to secure his re-election to the presidency. To the accomplishment of that object all his heart and soul and life and strength were devoted. With him the desire for re-election was an all-absorbing, all-controlling, all-devouring, all-consuming passion. It inspired his emotions; it monopolized his thought; it gave form and shape to all his schemes; it drove him to his deeds of blood. William McKinley made that wicked war upon Spain simply and solely for the purpose of securing his own re-election to the presidency of the United States. He believed that by means of such a war he would achieve a prestige, a prominence, a glory, a renown that would render his re-election absolutely sure. He believed that if he dipped his hands in blood he would become a more acceptable and popular candidate. And he was correct in these views.

"A successful murderer at the head of a nation is invariably crowned with laurels by a brutish populace and smeared with benedictions by a truckling church."

Every human being who perished in the wars of 1898 and subsequent years—every human being, whether American or Spanish or Filipino, whether man, woman or child who perished in these wars, was murdered by William McKinley in order to secure his re-election to the presidency of the United

States. The attack made by the United States upon Spain in 1898 was a most infamous and wicked war of aggression. It was inspired by the basest and vilest motives that ever swayed the human heart and the human soul. Of course, the claim was made that the United States was compelled to interfere in the affairs of Cuba on the score of humanity. The claim was made that Cuba was suffering under such evils and miseries and horrors that armed intervention on the part of the American Government was not only entirely justifiable, but was absolutely necessary in the discharge of plain and obvious duty.

We deny the claim. When was it established as a principle of international law that any one nation has a right to dictate to another nation in regard to the management of its internal affairs? When was it established as a principle of international law that any one nation has a right to make war upon and subjugate another nation on the ground of alleged mismanagement in the internal affairs of the latter? Under such false principles and false pretexts, Russia might allege that there was mismanagement in the internal affairs of Sweden and Norway, and she might accordingly proceed to subjugate these petty nationalities and annex their territory to her broad domains. Germany might allege that there was mismanagement in the internal affairs of Denmark and Holland, and she might accordingly conquer these countries and hold them in permanent subjection. France might pursue the same policy in regard to Belgium. Each of these

nations, in pursuing such a course, would simply be patterning after the wickedness of the United States in her dealings with Spain. The United States conquered Spain and robbed her of her possessions in Porto Rico and the Philippine Islands, and then had the impudence to stand before the world and boast of these deeds as a glorious manifestation of genuine Christian philanthropy.

But it is to be observed that this particular type of Christian philanthropy is manifested only toward those nations that are too weak to resist its application to their case. Strong nations, it would seem, require the exercise of a different kind of Christian philanthropy. Thus, Russia, though now paralyzed by internal strife, is among the mightiest of nations. Within the borders of Russia during this present year (1906), there have been most horrible massacres of men, women and children; and yet from no portion of the area of this great American republic has there been heard the faintest breath of a suggestion that armed American intervention in Russian affairs is the proper order of the day. On the contrary, our American officials virtually and practically decline even to speak to Russia, much less to attack her. The following telegrams explain themselves:

"NEW YORK, June 20, 1906.—A telegram from President Roosevelt relative to the recent massacres of Jews in Russia was read to-night at a mass meeting of Jews in this city. In it the President said:

"I shall go over the matter with Secretary Root.

You know how deeply we sympathize with your feelings, and how shocked and horrified we are at what has occurred in Russia, but you know also how well-nigh impossible it is to accomplish anything but harm by interference.

(Signed)

THEODORE ROOSEVELT."

WASHINGTON, June 21, 1906.—Secretary Root is giving consideration to the Jewish massacres in Russia, having already discussed the subject with the President. So far he has taken no action. The proposition to interfere in the internal affairs of another country is fraught with such difficulty that the United States must move with the utmost caution and delicacy in making any advances to the Russian Government for an appeal in behalf of the Jews.

Please observe the timidity of these American officials in the presence of the Russian giant. They say that interference in the internal affairs of another country is fraught with difficulty. They say that the United States must move with the utmost caution and delicacy in speaking to Russia in regard to the massacre of the Jews. This language really means that they do not intend to say anything to Russia at all. We are aided in reaching this interpretation by the affair at Kishineff, which occurred some years previous to 1906. The world was shocked by the Kishineff massacre, which was a most horrible exhibition of human savagery. Thousands and tens of thousands

and possibly hundreds of thousands of American citizens signed a petition addressed to the Czar of Russia and requesting him to make adequate provision for protecting the lives and property of his Jewish subjects. The document was placed in the hands of the officials of the American Government at Washington with the request that it be transmitted to the American ambassador to Russia and by him delivered to the Czar. But the document never reached its destination. Instead of stepping forward promptly and manfully and independently and conveying the petition to the Czar's palace, regardless of all question as to whether its contents were or were not distasteful to the Russian autocrat, the American Government sent a private messenger to inquire humbly if the petition would be received. Upon obtaining information to the effect that the petition would not be received the American Government returned it to its signers.

Here we have a most notable exhibition of official cowardice, or a most notable exhibition of tender-hearted regard for the feelings of other nations, provided they are strong nations. If the American officials were so anxious to avoid wounding the sensibilities of the Russian potentate, why could they not have exhibited some faint trace of respect for the feelings of Spain? And yet we know, as a matter of fact, that in 1898 the American Satanic Press was filling the atmosphere of the American heavens with the foulest falsehood and denunciation and abuse of Spain. We know that the American Satanic Press

was incessantly demanding an attack upon Spain. We here give another specimen of their headlines:

(From the Satanic Press, March 5, 1898.)

THE AMERICAN FLEET SHOULD NOW BE
AT HAVANA.

IT COULD CAPTURE AND HOLD HAVANA AGAINST THE
SPANISH.

AMERICAN NAVAL MEN EAGER TO FIGHT.

THEY HAVE VAST HOPES THAT THERE WILL SOON BE A
CONFLICT.

There can be no mistake as to the meaning of this language. It not only calls for war with Spain, but it calls for an immediate attack upon Spain, without waiting for the formality of a declaration of war. Language of this kind dinned incessantly into the ears of the people of any country on earth will not only create the impression that war is unavoidable, but it will also create the impression that war is most desirable and just. And yet it would seem that the officials of the American Government who are so fearful of wounding the feelings of Russia made no objection whatever to the action of the Satanic Press in pouring out a torrent of the coarsest insult and coarsest vituperation upon Spain.

But what was the duty of the American Executive at the period when the American Satanic Press was

endeavoring to nurse the Spanish war movement into active and vigorous and villainous life? There can be no question and no doubt as to the nature of the motives that should prompt and inspire every ruler on earth, high or low, in the discharge of the duties that devolve upon him. A true and faithful record of the official life of every ruler on earth should exhibit nothing but the manifestation of the most benevolent impulses coupled and crowned with earnest and unceasing efforts for the achievement of the most beneficent deeds. A true ruler is the loving friend of all mankind. A true ruler is the loved and trusted friend of all mankind. A true ruler is a life-lasting model and exemplar of self-forgetfulness and self-sacrifice. When the life-work of the ruler is finished and he has passed from the scenes of earth, his name and fame should be such that all nations and all peoples would mourn him as a benefactor of the human race. The true ruler should be a most enthusiastic and untiring coworker with all the elements in society that are seeking and striving for human improvement and human elevation. In the grand march of human progress the true ruler should ever be found in the van. The ruler should be part and parcel of every movement looking to the betterment of the conditions of life among the great masses of the people in every quarter of the globe.

The duty of the ruler is to upbuild and strengthen and encourage the weak, to purify and ennoble the strong, to guard and protect the innocent and the help-

less, to reclaim and remold and reform the vicious, to guide the steps of the young in the paths of wisdom and virtue, to shield the declining years of the aged from wanton injury or cruel neglect, to minimize human griefs and sorrows and woes, and to increase and magnify the sum total of human prosperity and human happiness.

But the highest, holiest, most sacred of all duties resting upon every ruler is to preserve his country's peace, and to labor for the establishment and maintenance of universal and eternal peace throughout the world. The ruler should ever be on the watch and on guard against any possible outbreak of that omnipotent and omnipresent thirst for blood which is the common inheritance of all human beings, handed down to them through millions and millions of years from the period when their ancestors were no better than so many crawling reptiles. Whenever and wherever in any part of the world there is apparent danger of irritation between any two countries or two nations, all the rulers of the earth should come to the rescue and endeavor to avert any catastrophe. They should proffer their services for the purpose of effecting a peaceful settlement. They should urge the parties to the controversy to refer their difficulties to arbitration. They should urge the parties to submit their case to The Hague Court. They should advise the calling of a World's Congress, organized after the manner we have already described in these pages. And the true ruler, the truly wise and

truly good ruler, will advocate a reduction in the armaments of all the nations ; and he will advocate the continuance of such reduction until the number of men left in the military service shall not exceed a specified and insignificant percentage of the total population of a country—a percentage no greater than may be needed for police purposes. And the truly wise and truly good ruler will abhor all wars of aggression, all wars of conquest, all wars for territorial aggrandizement.

But we repeat our question. What was the duty of the American executive at the period when the American Satanic Press and the American Congressional Demagogues were engaged in concocting and carrying out a conspiracy to plunge the country into the wickedest, most infamous of wars?

To this interrogatory there can be but one answer. The President of the United States should have exhibited the most determined and the most unflinching opposition to such national infamy. He should have devoted all his energies to the task of saving the country from such sin and shame. The war upon Spain was a most infamous and wicked war of aggression. It was a most brutal and cowardly attack upon a feeble, decaying, unoffending, defenseless and friendly nation. It was high-handed piracy, hypocritically cloaked in a mantle of pretended charity and pretended sanctity. It was a horrible outbreak of that most beastly of all human tastes—namely, a taste for human gore—a taste that was ingrained and inter-

woven into the very nature of man during the countless ages of incessant and deadly conflict that attended his evolution from the lower forms of animal life. It was an abandonment of the hopes and aspirations of our modern civilization and a retrogression to the period when the world was dominated by the brutal and beastly orgies of the barbarian, the savage, the cannibal. Stripped of all shams and pretexts and disguises it stands out in all its naked iniquity as the crowning crime of the century. The President should have grappled with this issue without a moment's delay. He should have wasted no time in ceremony. He should have ignored all the rules of etiquette. He should have thrown conventionalities to the winds. He should have sprung into the public arena and poured forth a torrent of the fiercest denunciation upon this villainous scheme to drag this country into a wicked and cowardly war. He should have traversed the length and breadth of the land in all directions and made every forum echo with utterances whose purport could not be misunderstood.

And the President, at this crisis, should have thrown into the scale all his tremendous and resistless official influence. The President of the United States is the mightiest of all earthly potentates. In his presence kings and emperors and czars and kaisers stand with bared heads and bowed forms. He is the life and soul of all America and all Americans. He is the Western Continent compressed and condensed into one personality, one individuality. In his every pul-

sation the heart of the nation beats. In his every breath the lungs of the nation expand. In his every word the voice of the nation resounds. In these latter days the test of the patriotism of the American citizen is found in the degree of servility with which he upholds and indorses presidential usurpations of power. And presidential usurpation of power is a striking growth and development in the political history of this nation for the past hundred years. A hundred or more years ago this American nation was but a handful of people making no claim to wealth or power or influence in the affairs of the world. But to-day America is the greatest, the richest, the most powerful of the nations that now exist, or that ever have existed on the face of the earth since time was. But wonderful beyond belief as has been the growth of these United States in wealth and population, that growth has been more than outstripped by the rapidity with which the limited constitutional authority of the President has been transmuted into practical absolutism.

And the vast amount of political patronage which lies at the disposal of the President has been a most potent factor in converting him into an absolute monarch. Every person in the employ of the United States government practically holds his position at the will of the President. Every one in the military service, or in the naval service, or in any of the various departments of the civil service, steps in or out at the nod and beck of the President. In making this vast number of appointments the President must neces-

sarily have intermediaries. And when a person is a candidate for appointment to a government office, the most natural and most effective intermediary to render assistance in securing such appointment is the member of Congress from the Congressional district in which the candidate lives. Every congressman therefore has behind him in his home district a horde of hungry office-seekers who depend upon him to secure for them a share of the public spoils. There are multitudes of persons who want to be postmasters or postoffice clerks or postal railway clerks. There are persons who want to be United States marshals or deputy United States marshals. There are persons who want to be clerks or district attorneys in Federal courts. There are persons who want to be government surveyors or land agents, or clerks in government land offices. There are persons who want to be internal revenue collectors. There are persons who want to be collectors of customs, or appraisers or clerks or laborers in the government custom house.

Of course, if the congressman belongs to the political party which is opposed to the President he will not be embarrassed by many applications for appointment to office. But if he belongs to the President's party he is between the devil and the deep, deep sea. Behind him is a clamorous crowd of politicians who demand reward for the services they have rendered him, and who may repudiate him in the next political campaign if he fails to bring home a full quota of presidential appointments. Confronting him is the

President himself in force. The President will not deal out or dole out patronage to any congressman who does not support what is termed the "presidential policy," and who does not vote for any and every pet measure which the President directs his tools to introduce into the halls of legislation. The congressman surrenders at discretion and takes the Presidential yoke upon his neck and assists in speeding the progress of the presidential car toward the goal of absolute imperialism. An incident that occurred a few years ago illustrates the present position of the President. The erratic individual who occupies the imperial throne of Germany was addressing a number of raw recruits who had recently been gathered into his army. Among other things he said:

"Repeat the Lord's prayer every day, and remember that I am your Lord."

Some one in commenting on this singular language of the Kaiser remarked:

"The Emperor of Germany does not seem to understand his true position in the world. He seems to think that he is President of the United States, standing behind the pie-counter and talking to a line of Congressmen who are coming up, one after another, to beg a tit-bit for a constituent."

This condition of affairs should be regarded by the American people with extreme disfavor. The presidential usurpation of power is an abnormal growth upon the body politic, which requires heroic surgery for its removal. We need drastic constitutional

amendments that will strip the President of ninety-nine per cent of his executive power and vest that power in various executive committees elected by Congress from its own membership and liable to dismissal at any time, very much after the manner in which the English Parliament disposes of an inefficient or unpopular administration. Such a reform would make Congress the governing power of the country. The individual congressman would be afforded an opportunity to become a free and independent man. The individual congressman could no longer be inventoried as a chattel among the personal effects of the incumbent of the executive chair.

But while the assumption of absolute power by the President is the prevailing and popular fashion, it is highly desirable that that power should be exercised for the country's good and for the world's good. In 1898 the President should have not only appealed to the masses of the American people, but he should have addressed himself to the individual Congressman and urged the rejection of any line of policy or line of action that threatened to breed national animosities and terminate in bloodshed. Most especially should he have emptied the vials of his wrath upon the heads of the infamous demagogues on the floor of Congress, who had become coworkers and "pals" of the managers of the Satanic Press in the commission of the great crime of plunging the country into the wickedest of wars. These enemies of God and man should have been so lashed and scourged that they would

have slunk from the presence of the imperial chief magistrate in utter and speechless consternation.

There cannot be a shadow of a doubt that if the President in 1898 had taken the vigorous course we have here suggested he would have succeeded in saving the country from entering upon a career of the most shameful and disgraceful criminality. He would have succeeded in gathering around him a host of followers who do not believe that love and friendship, human or divine, are blessed and consecrated and sanctified by wanton bloodshed. He would have gathered a host of followers who do not believe that if the atmosphere that envelopes this globe be filled with the smoke of burning human habitations and with the odor of unburied human remains that thereby the kingdom of heaven is brought down and established upon earth. The President, by such a course, would have promptly and most effectually checkmated the schemes of the managers of the American Satanic Press.

VETO MESSAGE.

But suppose that despite the all-powerful official influence of the President, the American Congress should have persisted in its nefarious designs and should have passed a bill or resolution declaring war against poor, old, dying Spain. The President should have promptly interposed a veto, which should have been worded about in this wise:

"To the Congress of the United States:

"I hereby return to you, without my approval, your
" resolution declaring war against Spain. War is
" legalized murder. War is the most horrible calam-
" ity that can befall mankind. War is the connecting
" tie that binds the human race to beasthood and
" beastdom. War precipitates a social and moral con-
" vulsion in which all the nobler impulses of human
" nature are benumbed and paralyzed, all the active
" and kindly sympathies are supplanted by relentless
" hate, and all the vicious, brutal, bloody instincts of
" the human race are given free rein and full license
" to revel and riot in a career of destruction and death.

"The wickedest deed that can be perpetrated on the
" face of this earth is the inauguration of an unneces-
" sary war. Nations and rulers that send forth armies
" and navies to ravage any portion of the earth's sur-
" face with fire and sword assume a fearful responsi-
" bility. A nation has no more right to wilfully and
" deliberately take the life of an innocent person be-
" longing to another nation than a private citizen has
" to take the life of an innocent neighbor. Nations, in
" their dealings with each other, should be governed
" by precisely the same moral obligations as are uni-
" versally recognized as binding upon individuals in
" their mutual affairs. A nation has no more right to
" commit murder than an individual has a right to
" commit murder.

"Self-defense is the only plea that can be urged in
" justification of the act of a man in taking the life

“ of another person. If a man is feloniously assailed
“ by a person or persons who are armed with deadly
“ weapons and who are intent upon instantly taking
“ his life he may kill any and all such assailants. If
“ a man’s watch or purse or horse or other portable
“ property be seized by a thief or robber, the man
“ may lay violent hands on such thief or robber and
“ compel a restitution of the property, and if a struggle
“ should ensue and the thief or robber should be
“ killed, the man would be held to be justified in the
“ eye of the law. A man may defend his life, his per-
“ son, his family, his property against all felonious
“ attacks.

“ And the same inexorable law applies to the affairs
“ of nations. A nation has no right to take the life
“ of a person belonging to another nation except in
“ self-defense. A nation has no right to fire a single
“ hostile shot against another nation except in self-
“ defense. In the light of this simple principle, this
“ indisputable principle, the character of the proposed
“ war upon Spain becomes apparent. It is shown at
“ once that the proposed war would be a deed of the
“ grossest wickedness. Spain has never made any
“ attack upon the United States. Spain has never
“ evinced any desire or design to attack the United
“ States. Spain has at all times exhibited an entirely
“ friendly spirit toward the United States. Notwith-
“ standing the fact that a licentious, mendacious and
“ utterly venal and corrupt American press has del-
“ uged the face of the continent with an ocean of

“ falsehood in regard to Spanish and Cuban affairs,
“ nevertheless Spain has always treated the American
“ Government with the most respectful courtesy.
“ Among all the nations of the earth that have had
“ dealings with the United States, none have been
“ more agreeable or courteous or compliant than
“ Spain. In view of these facts, there is absolutely no
“ excuse whatever for war upon Spain.

“ Furthermore, no justification for war upon Spain
“ can be found in the fact that she has been for some
“ time engaged in a struggle with the so-called Cuban
“ insurgents. In all lands and in all ages of the
“ world every government is presumed to have the
“ right to maintain its authority over every portion of
“ its territorial domains by force of arms if need be.
“ If the law of self-defense empowers a government to
“ repel attacks by a foreign foe the same law would
“ seem to authorize a government to repel attacks by
“ a domestic foe. And least of all and last of all,
“ among the nations, should the United States criticize
“ or condemn the policy of Spain in attempting to sub-
“ jugate the Cuban rebels. From 1861 to 1865 the
“ Government of the United States had waged a
“ stupendous and deadly contest against the
“ Southern secessionists, who had rebelled and
“ defied the national authority. That struggle
“ cost a half million of human lives and
“ three thousand million dollars of public money,
“ in addition to the incalculable loss of private prop-
“ erty. Spain, in her dealings with the Cuban rebels,

“ may be said to have patterned after the course pursued by the United States in suppressing the rebellion of 1861.

“ And the fact that the struggle between the Spanish Government and the Cuban insurgents was attended with unspeakable horrors does not authorize the United States to declare war against Spain. It should, however, authorize the combined nations of the earth to take action. The combined nations of the earth, including the United States of America, should have power to call a halt in all wars that are in actual operation, and to call a halt in all preparations for a war that is threatened. The combined nations should have power to call a world’s conference or a world’s congress that should investigate the questions at issue between any two nations, and should formulate and announce its conclusions.

“ The Spanish army is charged with laying waste a large portion of the territory of Cuba. The Spanish army is charged with driving Cuban people from their homes and gathering them around cities and towns, where they perished from starvation by thousands and tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands. But we must recollect that the laying waste of a country is a legitimate war measure, though a measure of such severity that the hardest-hearted commander should be extremely reluctant to enforce it. In the summer of 1864 General Grant issued repeated orders to General Phil Sheridan,

“directing him to lay waste the Shenandoah Valley.
“At that time, in 1864, the war had been in operation
“for three or four years. During all this time it was
“known that Lee’s rebel army at Richmond was receiving a large portion of its supplies from the
“Shenandoah Valley. General Grant determined to
“break up this source of supplies. Cutting off an
“enemy’s supplies is legitimate warfare. A vessel
“laden with food and supplies for the enemy may be
“sunk or burned. A railroad train laden with supplies for the enemy may be burned. A field of grain
“sown for the purpose of furnishing food to the
“enemy may be destroyed. General Grant ordered
“General Sheridan to sweep through the Shenandoah
“Valley, and to leave nothing behind him that might
“‘induce the enemy to return.’ Sheridan was ordered
“to seize all men below fifty years of age and throw
“them into a military prison. He was ordered to
“carry off all crops and animals, and to destroy what
“he could not carry off. General Grant said that if
“the war was to continue another year the Shenandoah Valley must remain, to use his own language,
“‘a barren waste.’

“General Sheridan subsequently declared that he
“fully indorsed the policy of General Grant. General
“Sheridan said that in the matter of achieving the
“conquest of a country, shooting was not as effective
“as starving. If a number of men were shot on the
“battlefield other men might take their places, but if
“a country was entirely stripped of all means of sub-

“sistence, if misery and woe and hunger and starvation and death rapped at the door of every household, then the people would throw down their guns and plead for peace.

“In passing judgment upon the acts of the Spanish in laying waste the soil of Cuba, consideration should be given to the acts of Americans in laying waste the soil of Virginia.

“Happily, however, though all war has not yet disappeared from the face of the earth, nevertheless there are most encouraging indications that a settlement of the struggle in Cuba will soon be reached. The Spanish Government has ordered a cessation of all war movements and war operations. The Spanish Government has ordered that the collecting of the country people around the cities and towns shall cease. The Spanish Government has ordered that the reconcentrados be permitted to return to their homes. The Spanish Government has ordered an appropriation of funds for the relief of the reconcentrados. The Spanish Government has ordered the throwing open of all Cuban ports, and the admission of all donations of food from the United States, free of all tariff charges. The steamship lines from New York to Cuba are carrying all donations of food from the United States free of charge for freight. • The Cuban railroads are carrying all donations of food throughout the entire length and breadth of the island, also free of charge for freight. The Cuban

“railroads are also carrying all persons engaged in
“distributing food free of charge for passage.

“Cuba is now practically a land of peace and
“plenty.

“In my opinion, it would be worse than murder and
“treason combined for the persons in control of the
“government of the United States to take any action
“at this juncture that would paralyze and nullify and
“destroy this blessed work of charitable relief. And
“a declaration of war by the United States against
“Spain would completely wipe out and obliterate
“every trace of this noble charity. Not another
“pound of food could leave New York to go to Cuba.
“Not another pound of food would be allowed to en-
“ter the island of Cuba so long as the American war
“vessels were maintaining a blockade. The starva-
“tion, which American charity has completely ban-
“ished from Cuba, would return in aggravated and
“intensified form. The daily death-roll of the victims
“of the famine would be swelled beyond all prece-
“dent, and the murder of everyone of these victims
“would be directly traceable to the Government of the
“United States. I cannot for an instant consent to
“become a participant in the fathomless iniquity, the
“horrible wickedness, of plunging this nation into an
“unnecessary and uncalled-for war. I cannot for an
“instant consent to become a participant to the fend-
“ish cruelty of starving to death thousands and tens
“of thousands of helpless Cuban women and children
“by dashing from their lips the food which a noble

"American charity has so fully and freely and generously extended to them.

(Not Signed) "WILLIAM McKINLEY."

It is hardly necessary to say that no one would accuse William McKinley of having any disposition to sign such a document as the proposed veto message we have here given. No one who takes the correct moral measure of the man would accuse him of having conscience enough to cherish such sentiments, or courage enough to avow such sentiments even if he appreciated their truth. And William McKinley was not seeking for the truth. He was not seeking for the right. He was not seeking for the path of duty. He was seeking for ways and means to advance the interests of William McKinley, and in order to accomplish this object he was prepared to shed any amount of human blood, and to inflict any amount of misery and suffering and woe upon the human race.

William McKinley, of course, well understood that in view of the natural bloodthirstiness of the human species any ruler who should oppose a prospective war would be liable to be branded as a traitor to his country. But he was not fully assured that the advocacy of war would render him master of the political situation. He was not positive that the infamous falsehoods poured out by the Satanic Press had affected the public mind to a degree that would warrant him in taking stock in a war movement as a paying political investment. Therefore, in the opening months of

1898, William McKinley was a pitiable creature, a pitiable object or rather a pitiable subject of indecision and incertitude. Having no fundamental moral principle on which to base his action, having even no rudimentary moral principle, he was hopelessly and helplessly drifting hither and thither, responsive to every current, to every eddy, to every breeze. But at that juncture the country needed men, and not driftwood, in high places. If William McKinley had been a man and not a self-seeking, time-serving, groveling and unscrupulous politician, if he had been a man among men, if he had been a man of any principle, of any conscience, of any character, of any courage, of any firmness, of any will, of any determination, he would have made an overwhelming and crushing attack upon the villainous hordes that were striving to involve the country in the wickedest of wars. He would have throttled every one of the crawling serpents in the nests of vipers that found lodgment and domicile in the offices of the managers of the Satanic Press. O for one hour of the sternness of Old Hickory! O for a passing gleam of the goodness of Old Abe!

With the lapse of time and the apparent growth of the war feeling, William McKinley gradually changed his position, and at last enlisted under the black flag of the managers of the Satanic Press and became their menial and tool. In the opening of 1898 William McKinley appeared before the world a weak, vacillating, cowering wretch, halting between the dictates of duty and the demands of a howling menagerie of

hyenas composed of the incarnate diaboloi of the American Press and the incarnadined Robespierres of the American Congress. In the opening of 1899 he appeared as an insatiate, bloodsucking vampire, pandering to the vile passions of the beastly rabble, and playing the part of procurer of victims for sacrifice on the altar of the Moloch of war.

The responsibility for inaugurating that wickedest of wars upon Spain rests with more crushing weight on William McKinley than it does on any other man, and we might say than it does on all other men. He was the one man, and the only man in the world, who could have prevented that war after it had passed the early stages of its development. And yet he never lifted a finger in behalf of peace. He never uttered a syllable in behalf of peace. On the contrary, he rendered material assistance to the piratical forces that were conspiring to plunge the country into war. He finally sent a message to Congress urging a declaration of war against Spain. William McKinley virtually made that war. He virtually declared that war. He is responsible for every drop of blood shed in that iniquitous contest. He is responsible for every death on the battlefield. He is responsible for every death in hospitals from diseases acquired in unhealthy tropical climates. He is responsible for all the horrors and miseries and sufferings that in a thousand varying forms accompany active warfare. He is responsible for the cruelties, the brutalities, the vices and lawless crimes that follow in the wake of advancing armies.

But we make a special and definite charge against this greatest of criminals. We accuse William McKinley of murdering by starvation one hundred thousand Cuban men, women and children in order to make himself President of the United States for a second term. We have already stated the fact that Cuba was practically a land of peace and plenty at the time when William McKinley commenced that war upon Spain. The Spanish Government had stopped the war against the Cuban insurgents, and the starvation had disappeared by reason of the donations of food from the people of the United States. Clara Barton, the president of the American Red Cross Society, had gone to Havana and made that city the headquarters for the distribution of food. She received earnest co-operation and assistance from all parties. William McKinley himself, in his message to Congress on April 11, 1898, admits the efficiency of the Red Cross service in the following words:

“Nearly two hundred thousand dollars in money
“and supplies has already reached the sufferers, and
“more is forthcoming. The supplies are admitted
“duty free and transportation to the interior has been
“arranged, so that the relief, at first necessarily con-
“fined to Havana and the larger cities, is now ex-
“tended through most, if not all, of the towns where
“suffering exists. Thousands of lives have already
“been saved.”

Never did criminal make a clearer confession of guilt. If, as William McKinley says, thousands of

lives were saved by the contributions of food from the people of the United States through the agency of Clara Barton and the Red Cross Society, then the moment that William McKinley commenced war upon Spain and thereby cut off all further charitable supplies, those same thousands of lives were immediately imperiled, and those same thousands of lives were ultimately lost. Every human being, whose life had been saved by Clara Barton, was subsequently murdered by William McKinley in order to make himself President of the United States for a second term.

This is not a mere surmise on our part. It is a conclusion immovably based on solid fact. War was declared in April, 1898. The American forces did not reach Havana till December, 1898. During the eight months that intervened between these two dates not a single mouthful of food from the United States could reach Havana. The American war vessels patrolling the coast of Cuba commanded the entrance to Havana harbor, and the Spanish forts and the Spanish garrison commanded the harbor itself. All the steamship lines that had previously carried freight and passengers between Cuba and the United States were of course withdrawn, and there was absolutely no communication or means of communication between the two countries. It was the natural and inevitable consequence of this condition of affairs that the starvation prevailing in Havana and vicinity was rendered vastly more frightful and destructive than was ever before known. And we have the evidence of this

fact. After the occupation of Havana by the American forces in December, 1898, the Red Cross Society sent an agent to Cuba to ascertain the condition of the suffering people. This agent was Colonel R. J. Hinton, an experienced journalist, who had been editor of the San Francisco Post for a number of years. Colonel Hinton investigated the condition of affairs and made a report, which was published in the New York Voice. We quote one sentence:

"It is the opinion of Cubans, of liberal Spaniards, "and of resident Americans, that the American declaration of war against Spain and the operations "under that declaration have increased and marked "Cuban starvation and pestilence between April, 1898, "and December, 1898, by deaths of at least 100,000 "persons, mostly women and children."

Who murdered that extra one hundred thousand helpless Cuban people, mostly women and children? To this query there can be but one answer. William McKinley was the murderer. If William McKinley had the slightest spark of human feeling, of human sympathy, of human sensibilities, the moment he saw the great success of the Red Cross operations in Cuba he would have sent a message to Congress. It would not have been a message requesting Congress to declare war against Spain. It would have been a message requesting Congress to make an appropriation of funds to enable the Red Cross Society to carry on its blessed work to the point of completion. Clara Barton had said that fifteen thousand dollars per week

would feed the starving Cubans, though thirty thousand per week would be a preferable sum. Why could not William McKinley have requested Congress to make an appropriation large enough to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to put into the hands of the Red Cross Society the sum of thirty thousand dollars per week for the period of a full year, if aid were needed for that length of time? But there is a still graver question to be asked. Why could not William McKinley, in sending to Congress such message requesting an appropriation to enable the Red Cross Society to save the lives of the starving Cubans, have remarked that not only would the Cubans thereby be put in a comfortable condition but that all trace of irritation or ill-feeling between the United States and Spain would be removed and the ancient friendship that had always subsisted between the two nations would be re-established? Why could not William McKinley have uttered this simple sentence? Why could he not have dropped an incidental syllable in favor of peace on earth and good-will to men? Because he would not have dared to do it. A noble, upright and fearless statesman belonging to any nation on earth would ever be on the alert to preserve his country's peace and to preserve the world's peace, and beyond this he would ever be on the alert to assist in the introduction of the glorious era when all difficulties between nations shall be settled by arbitration, and war shall be known no more forever. But William McKinley was not that kind of a man. He did not con-

cern himself in the slightest degree in regard to the future welfare and future happiness of the human race. His whole heart and soul were wrapped up in his selfish schemes for the increase and perpetuation of his political power. He had become the menial and tool of the Satanic Press. He may be said to have entered into an implied compact with the jingo element of the nation whereby he was to afford them an opportunity to shed innocent human blood, and in return therefor was to receive their votes for his re-election. He dare not breathe a syllable in favor of peace, for fear of losing these votes. And yet this trimming, shuffling, weak-kneed and utterly worthless politician was the person into whose hands the destinies of this great republic had for the time being been placed!

William McKinley may be said to be the counterpart of the notorious Weyler. McKinley struck down the hand of charity. McKinley drove Clara Barton from her work of mercy. McKinley robbed the starving reconcentrado of his last morsel of food. McKinley supplemented and completed the work of death commenced by Weyler. Weyler's bloody mantle rests on McKinley's shoulders. What Weyler did not kill McKinley did kill. Nay, in the matter of starvation the little finger of McKinley was thicker than the loins of Weyler. For Weyler did not forbid the importation of food; but McKinley's war dogs, floating along the coast of Cuba, fastened their fangs in the throat of every man who would bring food to the starving people, either in charity or in traffic. The horrors of



And the leading spirit in this carnival of death raises his blood-dripping hand to an offended heaven and mocks Almighty God by returning thanks for the success that crowned his damnable deeds. See page 215.

that blockade pass description. All business ceased. All industry ceased. All persons were discharged from employment. Prices of food doubled, trebled, quadrupled, increased ten-fold, and starvation reigned supreme. The angel of death spread his dark wing over the length and breadth of the ill-fated isle, and left the imprint of his skeleton hand on the doorpost of every household. In how many stricken homes did the wail of the starving infant grow feebler and feebler till hushed in the silence of death! Over how many thresholds did the emaciated form totter forth, never to return! On how many highways and byways were the vultures feeding on the corpses of the victims of McKinley's starvation and McKinley's war! And the leading spirit in this carnival of death raises his blood-dripping hand to an offended heaven and mocks Almighty God by returning thanks for the success that has crowned his damnable deeds.

But we desire to call attention to some of the incidental horrors, which illustrate the wickedness of the war that William McKinley inaugurated for the purpose of advancing his personal interests. It would seem that when the American forces were closing in upon the City of Santiago the people of the city were greatly alarmed. They possibly feared a bombardment. They became panic-stricken and rushed to the country. They took refuge on naked hillsides, miles away, where they were without food, where they were exposed to the fierce heat of the sun by day and to drenching thunder storms that raged

with great fury every night. Their condition may be inferred from the following telegram:

“IN FRONT OF SANTIAGO,

JULY 8, 1898.

“Refugees, many of them starving, although loaded
“ with jewels and money, are strung along the road
“ from Caney to Siboney. The bodies of four women,
“ apparently well to do, were found on the road to-
“ day.”

If these four women lay down and died by the roadside, what must have been the sufferings of thousands of other women and children who encountered equally horrible hardships and escaped death by a narrow margin? But we give another dispatch:

“NEW YORK, July 24, 1898.—A cable to the New
“ York World from Santiago says: There were fifty
“ funerals here yesterday of refugees, who died as a
“ result of the scarcity of food at El Caney.”

Who murdered these helpless people? There is but one answer to the question. William McKinley was the murderer. A picture was given us of a young mother among the Santiago refugees, rushing frantically to and fro, her hair waving wildly in the wind, begging in vain for milk, milk, milk, to save the life of the infant that was dying of starvation in her arms. And when the infant has drawn its last breath and the work of death is complete let some noble, whole-souled and devoted patriot take a sharp knife and make a deep cut around the head of the little victim.

Let him tear off the scalp, with its little tufts of soft, downy hair. Let him tan that scalp and take it to Washington and nail it to the walls of the Capitol as an everlasting memorial of the glorious vindication of the "honor" of the American flag. But who murdered that babe?

We desire to call attention to the Maine affair. That incident is rightfully regarded as having a most potent if not decisive influence in plunging the country into a wicked war. And in probing this affair to its depths we shall find unmistakable outcroppings of that ineffable villainy which at that juncture permeated and possessed the souls of American officials. There was absolutely no occasion whatever for sending the Maine to Havana. There was no excuse and no justification for such an act. To an impartial, unprejudiced observer that act can not fail to appear as rash in the highest degree. Even if the act were prompted by honest motives, it was one of those blunders that are said to be worse than a crime. But the sending of the Maine to Havana was not prompted by honest motives. It was a political expedient. It was an electioneering dodge. William McKinley had gradually become convinced that the war feeling had been nursed and developed up to that point that it could not safely be ignored in his efforts to grasp further political power. He therefore sent the Maine to Havana as a sop to the jingo element in the United States that was howling for an attack upon Spain. He sent the Maine to Havana to conciliate and curry favor

with the war element. He sent the Maine to Havana as a hint or an intimation that a still greater display of military and naval force might be considered as among the possibilities of the early future. But we will give the telegrams that appeared in the columns of the Satanic Press:

(From the Satanic Press, January 25, 1898.)

THE WARSHIP MAINE SENT TO HAVANA!

McKINLEY WILL PUT HIS NAVIES AND ARMIES IN
MOTION.

WAR WILL SPEEDILY COMMENCE.

AMERICAN VALOR WILL CRUSH SPANISH POWER IN THE
WESTERN WORLD.

"WASHINGTON, Jan. 25, 1898.—It was only after a
"conference with General Miles and Secretary Long
"that the President ordered the Maine sent to Ha-
"vana. General Miles assured the President that
"in event of war with Spain the plans call for a
"mobilization of 100,000 men, of whom 25,000 would
"be for Eastern post duty, and the balance for an
"army of invasion and occupation in Cuba. It is
"the opinion of military experts that 25,000 men can
"be put on board troopships in three weeks, and that
"a second corps of 25,000 men could follow in the
"succeeding ten days, leaving the balance to bring up
"the rear at an early date."

It needs no second perusal of this telegraphic dispatch to enable the reader to fathom the iniquity of the men at Washington in whose hands the destinies of the nation were placed. The *Maine* was sent to Havana at the conclusion of an investigation as to the length of time that would be required for the Government of the United States to collect troops to commence fighting. The *Maine* was sent to Havana as the forerunner of speedily coming events. The *Maine* carried the shadow of death, the shadow of threatened war.

This dispatch was, of course, sent from Washington to every city and town on the continent and published in all the journals. Its effect could not be otherwise than most portentous. It could not fail to develop and stimulate and encourage a war feeling. Millions of people were convinced that war was about to come, and that their first and highest duty was to bow to the inevitable and render support to the prosecution of the war.

And William McKinley was the individual who gave this impetus and this stimulus to the war movement. In all the black record of William McKinley's official criminality, there is no blacker or wickeder deed than this gross betrayal and abandonment of his duties to his country—this gross betrayal and abandonment of his duties to mankind. As we have repeatedly affirmed and reaffirmed, the highest and holiest duty resting upon the rulers of the world is to maintain the world's peace. In the furtherance of this sacred

object it is the duty of every individual ruler to carefully and scrupulously refrain from any line of action or any form of expression that would needlessly and wantonly irritate or excite the people of any other country. And if among the unprincipled demagogues that are to be found in all lands there should be those who would seek to gain popularity or seek to gain a reputation for patriotism by slandering and traducing and reviling and denouncing the people of another country, the true ruler should frown down all such evil conduct and should call upon his people to brand that conduct with condemnation swift and strong.

If, therefore, among his counselors, official or personal, there should be any one reckless enough to urge the sending of a war vessel to Havana, it would have been the duty of William McKinley to promptly interpose a stern negative:

“Never! NEVER!! NEVER!!!

“Such action on the part of the American Government would excite and alarm the Spanish with the idea that they were about to become the victims of wanton and lawless military aggression. It would excite and encourage the vicious and unprincipled jingo element in the population of the United States with the hope that they are about to have an opportunity to gratify their thirst for human blood. It would enable a licentious and mendacious public press to stuff its columns with a new crop of outrageous falsehoods. With the public mind in such a state of ferment the most trifling matter might pro-

“voke a collision that would precipitate the whole,
“horrid, catastrophe of war. To send a warship to
“Havana would be patterning after the foolhardiness
“of Commander W. S. Schley, of the American war-
“ship Baltimore, who, while in the harbor of Val-
“paraiso, in 1891, allowed two boatloads of seamen to
“go ashore in the face of a hostile populace, with the
“result that in the twinkling of an eye the streets were
“raging with bloodshed and death. It cannot be con-
“ducive to the development and maintenance of friend-
“ship between nations to make a parade of force
“under the hollow pretense of official etiquette and
“official ceremony. The true method of securing and
“preserving friendship between nations is to respect
“and protect each other’s rights, to accord to each
“other all friendly privileges, to extend to each other
“prompt assistance and sympathy in the hour of dire
“calamity, to exhibit due deference to each other in
“the matter of national pride, of national custom, of
“national peculiarity, of national hereditary prejudice.
“No, sir, I will not send a war vessel to Havana!”

But the real William McKinley did send the Maine to Havana, and from the wickedest of motives. He sent the Maine to Havana for the purpose of stirring up among the population of the United States that spirit of bloodthirstiness which is a hereditary and ineradicable trait in the constitution of the human animal. He sent the Maine to Havana to kindle and fan the flame of war, and thus induce the American people to rally under his political banner and render

him political support as the proper exponent of the new national doctrine of bloody, piratical conquest.

Under the old common law of England, it was a maxim that a person who committed a felony was answerable for all the consequences of that felony, whether those consequences were or were not to be anticipated. Thus, if a person were to set fire to and burn a barn he would be guilty of arson, which is a felony. But if a tramp had previously crawled into that barn to sleep and were burned to death in the conflagration, then the incendiary would not only be guilty of arson but he would also be guilty of murder, even though he had no knowledge of the fact that there was a human being in the barn. Under that stern rule of the old common law, William McKinley was responsible for the death of every person who perished on the *Maine* in the harbor of Havana, for the reason that the *Maine* was sent on that fateful errand from the wickedest and most felonious of motives. The bare act of sending the *Maine* was the blackest of felonies.

But in the estimation of the great majority of people the world over, the most important question in connection with the *Maine* affair is this:

“BY WHOM WAS THE MAINE DESTROYED?”

To this question there has never been a satisfactory answer, and to all human appearances there never will be a satisfactory answer. Not even the wildest lunatic would dream of accusing the English or the

French or the Germans or the Russians or the Chinese or the Japanese of destroying the *Maine*. And however much the fiendish managers of the American Satanic Press might desire to precipitate a war, no one outside an insane asylum would dream of accusing Americans of having any connection with a plot to destroy a vessel belonging to their own country and manned by their own countrymen. And no Spaniard of sane mind, however bitter his hatred of America and Americans, would think of involving himself or involving his country in such awful crime. To the Spanish Government and the Spanish nation the *Maine* affair was worse than a matter of life or death. It was a matter of absolute and certain death without hope or remedy. As the *Maine* was known to be in a Spanish port and surrounded by enemies, the electric flash that carried the news of her destruction around the world would also carry the presumption that she was destroyed through Spanish agency. The world would stand aghast and horror-stricken in view of such treachery, and would pour out execrations and curses upon Spain and all Spaniards. And no Spaniard of sane mind could fail to understand that a howl for vengeance would rise from every part of the United States, and that every atom of the resistless power of the American Republic would be called into requisition to punish the authors of the crime. It would have been better for Spain to have blown up every one of her own battleships than to have blown up the

Maine by vile treachery. It would have been better for Spain to have destroyed every vestige of her navy and to have destroyed all her forts and arsenals than to have destroyed a single American skiff of such puny and pigmy dimensions that one man alone could have drawn it out of the water and turned it bottom up on the beach high above the waves and tides.

But there was never a particle of evidence to show that the Spanish Government or the Spanish nation or even a single Spanish individual had any connection whatever with the destruction of the Maine.

The only people on the face of the earth who could derive any benefit from the destruction of the Maine were the Cuban insurgents. If the Cuban insurgents could blow up the Maine in such a manner as to leave upon the mind of the world and especially upon the mind of America the impression that the horrid deed was performed by the Spanish, then the success of the Cuban revolution was absolutely assured. The Americans would appear in overwhelming force and wipe out the Spanish and all trace of the Spanish. And at that time it would seem that the Cubans were in possession of dynamite, for there were daily reports of their work in blowing up railroad bridges and railroad trains. Whether the Cubans had courage enough, and energy and enterprise enough, and skill and coolness enough to concoct and carry out a plan to blow up the Maine is a question that will never be answered. And if any one were to mildly suggest that it would be a wicked thing for the Cubans

to murder a large number of Americans on board the *Maine* in order to induce surviving Americans to murder a large number of Spanish in Cuba, we would simply respond that in the moral composition of Spanish-Americans, which term, of course, includes Cubans, there is a much smaller amount of conscience than there is of cowardice. But there was never a particle of evidence that any Cuban was in any manner connected with the blowing up of the *Maine*.

In this connection there is an item that may be worthy of notice. In the latter part of 1898, there was a meeting in Paris of American Commissioners and Spanish Commissioners to settle the terms of peace between the two countries. In the course of their discussions, the Spanish Commissioners strongly insisted that there should be a thorough investigation in regard to the destruction of the *Maine*. They claimed that their country had been persistently and falsely accused of complicity in the perpetration of that awful crime, and was therefore entitled to an opportunity to challenge all accusers to come forward and present their evidence. The Spanish Commissioners urged that the leading neutral powers of Europe be requested to appoint members of a court of inquiry, whose duty it would be to investigate the *Maine* affair and render an impartial opinion.

It is to be presumed that the Spanish Commissioners did not expect that the terms of peace would in any wise be affected by the opinion of the neutral court of inquiry. As the Spanish were the defeated party

in the war, they undoubtedly expected to be robbed of their possessions. But they did not wish to be robbed of their good name by false charges.

It would seem to have been nothing more than common courtesy and common justice for the American Commissioners to grant this request of the Spanish. It would have caused no delay in the transaction of their business. Peace could have been ratified and the Commissioners could have returned to their several homes, leaving the field open for the neutral court of inquiry to convene subsequently. But the Americans would have none of it. They flouted the whole proposition. They refused, point blank, to take the subject under consideration. And it is not difficult to ascertain the source from which the American Commissioners drew their inspiration. Every morning the American Commissioners received a batch of telegrams from Washington, giving them directions in regard to the course they were to pursue on matters coming before them. The refusal to give the Spanish an impartial investigation by neutral nations came from under the same roof where the fiendish plot to send the *Maine* to Havana was concocted.

A HORRIBLY WICKED ACT OF CONGRESS.

In the hundred or more years of the existence of the American Congress, that body has never perpetrated a deed of fouler criminality than attaches to a legislative measure adopted on March 8, 1898. Os-

tensibly it was a step taken for national protection. Ostensibly it was a measure to appropriate the sum of fifty million dollars and to place that sum in the hands of William McKinley, to be expended by him at his discretion for the purposes of national defense. In reality it was a flaring announcement of a bare-faced lie that the country was in danger. In reality it was a trumpet call to arms. It was designed to kindle and excite and stimulate the war spirit among the masses of the American people. It was intended to lead the people up to that point that they would sustain our depraved and conscienceless politicians in their scheme to plunge the country into a career of bloodshed. We give a number of telegrams:

SINEWS OF WAR.

FIFTY MILLIONS FOR DEFENSE.

UNANIMOUS VOTE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

BLAZE OF PATRIOTISM.

Washington, March 8, 1898.—Every member of the House of Representatives cast his vote to-day for a bill placing in President McKinley's hands fifty million dollars, to be expended at his discretion for the national defense. Three hundred and eleven members voted for the bill, and not a single member voted against it.

London, March 8, 1898.—The handiwork of the great speculative ring of European dealers in war materials is now clearly manifest. For several days this ring of European speculators has been circulating false reports to the effect that Spain had succeeded in getting a new loan and is purchasing warships. The object of this falsehood is to excite the Americans and induce them to rush into the markets and buy war materials at double prices. But there is no truth in these manufactured reports. From the Governor of the Bank of France, from the Governor of the Bank of England, from the Rothschilds and from the Credit Lyonnais assurances are given that Spain has not been able to raise any money whatever. One of the leading financiers of the world said to-day:

“Spain is absolutely bankrupt at this moment. It is utter nonsense to talk about a new foreign loan. The Bank of Spain is insolvent.”

New York, March 8, 1898.—A “World” special from Washington says: The President has received a dispatch from Hon. Stewart L. Woodford, United States Minister to Spain, declaring that Spain has exhausted every means of raising money for war purposes, without success. All the financial centers of Europe have rejected the Spanish proposals for borrowing money.

London, March 8, 1898.—Inquiry made here among financiers and diplomats who are most likely to know

the facts shows that they do not believe the report that a Spanish loan has been floated in London. Spain, it is true, has made repeated attempts to raise money, as previously cabled, the most recent effort being made only a fortnight ago, when the Rothschilds and other financiers who were approached emphatically informed the Spanish agents that there was no money to be had from them for Spain.

Washington, March 8, 1898.—The report that Spain has purchased two war vessels from Brazil is known to be incorrect, and the statement is made that if the United States should wish to buy these vessels there was reason to believe she would be given the opportunity.

Washington, March 8, 1898.—Secretary Long, the Secretary of the Navy, was particularly busy all day. Before 1 o'clock he had been obliged to retire to his private office and to deny himself to callers in order to hold a conference. Senator Lodge was present, as well as Chairman Hale of the Senate Naval Committee, Captain Crowninshield, Chief of the Navy Bureau; Captain Bradford, Chief of the Equipment Bureau; Captain Brownson and Assistant Secretary Roosevelt.

Chief Constructor Hichborn and Admiral Matthews, Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks, were also called to the conference. Secretary Long found during the progress of the conference to talk a mo-

ment with Mr. Lane, who has submitted to the Department proposals for the sale of certain warships now building in Europe at private shipyards.

It is particularly with a view to acquiring information on the possibility of buying ships immediately that Captain Brownson has been selected to go to Europe. He is an officer of great discretion, and his experience on the Board of Inspection, which is charged with the duty of thoroughly examining all ships built for the navy, has familiarized him with all the details of the various types of warships, battleships, armored cruisers, protected cruisers, monitors and torpedo boats.

Brownson will lose no time in starting for Europe. He will sail from New York for Southampton by the first available steamer, and will prosecute his duties in England and France with the utmost diligence and dispatch. At Southampton, where he will arrive early next week, he will be joined by Lieutenant K. C. Coldwell, naval attache of the American Embassy at London. Captain Brownson will go to France next with as little delay as possible, and will confer with Lieutenant W. S. Sims, naval attache to the American Embassy at Paris, and in his company inspect the two battleships, Marshal Florian and Marshal Deodoro, now building for the Brazilian navy and which, it is understood, can be purchased by the United States.

It is now known positively that negotiations are in progress toward having the United States acquire the two crack cruisers now being built for Japan in pri-

vate shipyards in the United States. The two cruisers are not only being built for Japan, but they have already become the actual property of Japan by the payment of a considerable portion of the purchase price to wit, \$1,350,000 each. They are within three months of completion on an emergency basis. They are designed to make 22 knots, which ranks them among the swiftest cruisers in the world.

A cursory glance at the wording of that infamous measure adopted by Congress on the eighth of March, 1898, might create the impression that this country was in danger of an attack from Spain. It might create the impression that the members of the American Congress actually believed that the country was in imminent danger of being crushed by the overwhelming power of a merciless foe. But whatever may have been the standing, the rank, the record of these American Congressmen as regards their wickedness, their depravity, their criminality, there was not among their number a single individual idiotic enough to believe that Spain would ever lift a finger in hostility to the United States. What! That weak, feeble, bankrupt, broken-down, prostrate, helpless, decaying, dying nation make war upon the greatest, the strongest, the richest, the most resourceful of all the powers that ever existed on the face of the earth? Make war upon a country that had five times her population, twenty times her area, fifty times her resources and a thousand times her cash and credit?

The proposition was utterly ridiculous, as was well known to every person concerned in the passage of that infamous fifty-million bill. That bill was a false pretense of danger, designed to deceive the American people into the belief that there was actual danger. It may be well said that William McKinley's Government was from beginning to end a government of false pretenses, as it was a government of murderous impulses and a government of murderous deeds.

But it may be urged that Spain was reported to have been successful in borrowing money, and was expending that money in the purchase of warships. This report was entirely devoid of truth. On that very day in March, 1898, in which that infamous fifty-million bill was enacted by Congress there were telegrams from the financial centers of the world declaring in the strongest terms that Spain could not raise a single cent of money. We have just inserted several of these telegrams. Every member of Congress must have had these telegrams before his eyes when he voted for that fifty-million bill. But the member of Congress on that occasion cast his vote for political effect, and not for the vindication and assertion and establishment of the right. As a matter of fact, there has never been in the history of these United States the one fifty-millionth part of a second of time when this government needed the expenditure of the one fifty-millionth part of a cent of money to defend itself against an attack from Spain.

But granting that Spain had succeeded in borrow-

ing money and was endeavoring to purchase war vessels, why should this circumstance justify America in raising a war cry of alarm and in marshaling her forces for battle? Suppose that to-morrow it should be announced that England was enlarging her navy by building and buying war vessels, would the American heavens ring with a howl for British blood? If France were to engage in enlarging her navy by building and buying war vessels, would the halls of the American Congress ring with demands for the enactment of another fifty-million bill for national defense? If Germany or Russia were to enlarge their navies, would the United States consider such action a *casus belli*? By no means. If, then, the United States would look on with quietude and indifference while any or all of the great powers of Europe were engaged in enlarging their naval and military establishments, why should the firebell in the night awaken the terrified inhabitants of the New World with the announcement that wretched, miserable, poverty-stricken Spain had succeeded in borrowing money to buy or build a ship? The object of that fifty-million bill was to precipitate a war. The passage of the bill was an assertion in the face of the American people and in the face of the whole world that the country was in danger. That assertion was an absolute falsehood. And every member of Congress who voted for the bill was a participant in the perpetration of the falsehood. The fifty-million-dollar bill was a fifty-million-dollar lie. It might be called a five hundred

million-dollar lie if its name were to be suggested by the amount of the people's money that it caused to be squandered. It might be called a lie hot from Tartarus if its name were to be suggested by the source from which the governing powers of the country drew the inspiration that nerved them to their deeds of diabolism and death. But it served its purpose of inaugurating war.

We desire to say that any increase in naval power that might accrue to the United States from the passage of the fifty-million bill could have been obtained without the beating of tom-toms and without calling the people to arms. Considering the vast superiority of the great American Republic over any nation on earth as regards her power and wealth and resources, the navy of the country has exhibited a deficiency. Of course, in the good time coming it is to be expected that all navies and armies will be allowed to dwindle down to the nearest practicable approximation to the zero point, but the process of dwindling has not yet commenced. It can not commence too soon if navies are to be put to the base uses we have witnessed. But suppose that on or about the eighth day of March, 1898, when the infamous fifty-million bill was adopted by Congress and when the foul falsehoods of the American Satanic Press had engendered excitement and irritation and animosity—suppose that it would have been considered good policy to increase the naval power of the United States by buying vessels. What would be the mode of procedure for the accomplish-

ment of this object? One of the telegrams we have here inserted contains an answer to this question. On the same eighth day of March, 1898, the Secretary of the Navy had a conference with the heads of the different departments of the naval service. As a result of this conference, Captain Brownson was directed to start immediately for Europe. Arrangements were made that on landing in Europe he would be met by the naval attaches of the American embassies to the different European powers. In company with these gentlemen he was to visit the private shipyards of Europe and ascertain if any war vessels, whose construction was completed or whose construction was nearing completion, could be purchased by the Government of the United States.

And right here we may say that the information which Captain Brownson was directed to obtain should have been previously acquired by the Secretary of the Navy and should have been placed on record in his office. On the fourth of March, 1897, when William McKinley was inaugurated President of the United States, the office of the Secretary of the Navy contained a model of every iron-clad war vessel that had been built by any nation on earth. The Secretary of the Navy should have an agent in every civilized nation, whose duty it should be to watch all naval developments in that nation and report the same to Washington. The agent should report the amount of the annual legislative appropriation for the maintenance of the navy, and also the appropriation for build-

ing new vessels. He should report the number of vessels whose construction had been commenced in previous years, and he should report the length of time that would probably elapse before each of these vessels would be ready for service. He should report the dimensions, the proposed equipments and armaments of all vessels in process of construction. He should pay especial attention to private shipyards, as it would be in these yards that the United States would find opportunities to purchase vessels.

But let us suppose that these arrangements for obtaining information had been in operation for a number of years, and were in full working order in that month of March, 1898, when the infamous fifty-million bill was enacted. We will suppose that in that month of March the Secretary of the Navy was informed by one of his agents in Europe that a war vessel at the point of completion could be purchased for three million dollars.

The Secretary immediately confers with the President and suggests that a bill be introduced into Congress, making the necessary appropriation for the purchase of the ship. The President, in a fleeting, transitory and wholly unnatural spasm of honesty and integrity, might respond as follows:

"If the measure were to be accepted by Congress
"and by the country as a step in the realization of the
"established policy of the United States to increase
"the strength of the American navy, I will render it
"a hearty support. It would seem to be entirely

“ proper that the strength of the American navy should
“ be commensurate with the wealth and power and
“ population and resources of the country. American
“ warships should rightfully be built on American soil,
“ but if American national shipyards and private ship-
“ yards are not numerous enough or capacious enough
“ to complete within a reasonable period of time all
“ the work that may be desired of them, it may be
“ the part of wisdom to subsidize foreign shipyards
“ and render them tributary to the interests of our
“ navy.

“ But if the proposed purchase of this war vessel is
“ to be a step in the concoction of a foul conspiracy
“ to involve this nation in a cowardly and murderous
“ attack upon a neighboring friendly power simply
“ because that power is too feeble to offer effectual
“ resistance, I shall most certainly refuse to assist in
“ branding the American name with such damning
“ disgrace. If the proposed purchase of this vessel
“ is to be a firebrand in the hands of unprincipled and
“ reckless demagogues to kindle the conflagration of
“ unholy war, if it is to kindle the horrid lust and
“ passion for shedding human blood that eternally
“ lurks in the deepest recesses of the human heart and
“ human soul, if it is to awaken and arouse the beast
“ that is latent in the moral constitution of every mem-
“ ber of the human family, if it is to check and
“ thwart the hopes and aspirations and tendencies of
“ mankind to shake off the trammels of its animal
“ origin and to ascend to a loftier and nobler plane

“ of spiritual and moral and intellectual life and light,
“ if it is to arrest the onward and upward march of
“ human progress and to turn back the faces of the
“ people toward their primeval savagery and barbarism, no genuine and unselfish lover of his fellow-men will allow himself to be drawn into the support of such stupendous criminality.”

But it may be said that the purchase of a war vessel is not necessarily an act of criminality. True, and if all rulers were discreet and upright and conscientious men the purchase of an entire fleet or an entire navy would not necessarily be an act of criminality. Ships of war may often be allowed to wear out and to rust out without ever firing a single hostile shot. But if the fifty million dollars, which were appropriated by the American Congress on the eighth of March, 1898, for alleged purposes of national defense were allowed to remain in the national treasury for twenty years without drawing a cent therefrom the iniquity of William McKinley and his copartners in crime in passing that bill would not lose the slightest shade of its blackness. It is by the motives that prompt a ruler's deeds that we gauge and measure his moral status. And William McKinley's deeds were prompted by pure and unmitigated selfishness. His heart and soul were wholly wrapped up in the one object of securing his election to the presidency for a second term. He was ready to commit any crime to accomplish this purpose. He believed that if he were to plunge the country into war and thus gratify

the human thirst for human blood he would achieve a popularity that would insure his political success.

We have in these pages repeatedly discussed the duties of rulers. These duties are so plain and obvious that they ought not to need even a single presentation. In case of prospective difficulties between nations, it is the duty of all rulers to endeavor to allay popular excitement, to endeavor to neutralize the effects of inflammatory utterances, to quiet the manifestations of popular passion, to rebuke the exhibition of racial animosity, to recommend moderation and patience and forbearance, to plead for the exercise of a spirit of amity, of charity, of fraternity in all our dealings with any and all peoples on the face of the earth. But there was no trace of conscientiousness in William McKinley's official deeds. He practically stood up before the American people and gave utterance to the atrocious falsehood that Spain was about to attack the United States. He uttered this falsehood for the purpose of exciting indignation and alarm among the American people, and thus rendering it an easy task to lead them into a wicked war. There could have been no honest motives whatever in the utterance of this foul slur upon Spain. If it were deemed advisable to increase the strength of the American navy more rapidly than could be done by the exclusive home manufacture of war vessels a competent agent could be sent to Europe to negotiate with the foreign shipbuilders for the purchase of any ship that was approaching completion. If the nego-

tiations of the agent were successful, and if they met with the approval of the American Government, a bill making the necessary appropriation could be slipped through Congress without creating the slightest ripple of excitement and without a single note of comment. A second and a third ship could be purchased in the same manner. And if the American Government desired vessels built according to certain specifications, a contract could easily be entered into with foreign shipbuilders. And all this could have been accomplished without in any manner imperiling the maintenance of the nation's peace. No honest purpose could possibly be subserved by the ostentatious and spectacular enactment of a bill appropriating fifty millions of dollars for alleged national defense. The real object of the bill was to precipitate war for war's sake, and for the sake of political gain and political power.

But there is another aspect of the case to be considered. If difficulties are apparently about to arise between nations, it is the duty of every ruler who desires universal peace—and the ruler who does not desire universal peace is not fit to exercise the thinnest, the emptiest, the gauziest shadow of executive power for the most infinitesimal portion of time—it is the duty of the ruler not only to curb the impatience of his own people, but also to refrain from any deed or word that would encroach upon the interests or wound the sensibilities of the people of another nation. And all nations in all times have been exceedingly jealous in regard to any interference with

their territorial possessions. Would the English people consent to give up Cape Colony or the Transvaal or Egypt or India? Would the French people consent to give up Algeria or Senegambia or Madagascar or Cochin China? Would the American people consent to give up the Philippine Islands, even though their possession is a badge of the damning disgrace achieved in waging a most infamous and most iniquitous war? By no means. This being the case, we can readily understand that the Spanish people would be jealous of any interference with their possessions in the island of Cuba, which had been theirs for four hundred years. And the Spanish Ministry that should endeavor to reconcile the Spanish people to any interference with their possessions in Cuba would find that it had assumed a most onerous task. And yet the Spanish Ministry did face this task. On the 31st of March, 1898, Stewart L. Woodford, United States Minister to Spain, telegraphed to William McKinley:

"Spanish pride will not permit the Ministry to propose and offer an armistice to the Cuban insurgents, which the Ministry really desires to do. The Ministry has gone as far as they dare to-day."

On April 3, 1898, Woodford wrote to Washington:

"The Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs assures me that Spain will go as far and as fast as she can."

These words explain themselves. They show that the Government of Spain was most anxious to avoid

a collision, and all excuse for a collision with the United States. And William McKinley knew it. William McKinley knew that Spain had never refused any request or demand that he had made upon her. William McKinley knew that Spain had never said No to any proposition he had ever made to her. William McKinley knew that Spain was the humblest, the meekest, the most compliant, the most submissive of all nations. And yet William McKinley joined hands with the Satanic American Press and with the Satanic American Demagogues on the floor of Congress, and became their vile menial and tool in their nefarious designs of murderous warfare upon innocent, helpless, unoffending Spain.

THE DISTRESSED QUEEN OF SPAIN VAINLY BEGGING
FOR MERCY FROM WILLIAM M'KINLEY.

On the 5th day of April, 1898, Stewart L. Woodford telegraphed to McKinley:

"If the Queen of Spain should issue the following
"proclamation before 12 o'clock noon of Wednesday,
"April 6, will you sustain the Queen, and can you
"prevent hostile action by Congress? Please read
"this proclamation in the light of all my previous
"telegrams and letters. I believe that this proclama-
"tion means peace, which the sober judgment of the
"American people will approve long before Novem-
"ber, and which must be approved at the bar of his-
"tory."

THE QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION.

"At the request of the Holy Father, in this Passion Week, and in the name of Christ, I proclaim immediate and unconditional suspension of hostilities in the island of Cuba. This suspension is to become immediately effective as soon as accepted by the insurgents in that island, and is to continue for the space of six months, to the 5th of October, 1898.

"I do this to give time for passions to cease, and in the sincere hope and belief that during this suspension permanent and honorable peace may be obtained between the insular government and those of my subjects who are now in rebellion against the authority of Spain. I pray the blessing of heaven upon this truce of God, which I now declare in His name and with the sanction of the Holy Father of all Christendom."

On the night of this same April 5, 1898, a reply was sent from Washington to Woodford:

"The President highly appreciates the Queen's desire for peace. He can not assume to influence the action of the American Congress beyond the discharge of his constitutional duty in transmitting the whole matter to them with such recommendations as he deems necessary and expedient. . . . If armistice is offered by the government of Spain the President will communicate that fact to Congress. The President's message will go to Congress to-morrow. It will recount the conditions in Cuba. . . . He

“will not advise the recognition of the independence of the insurgents, but will recommend measures looking to the cessation of hostilities.”

In the dark and bloody career of William McKinley there is no wickeder act than this cold-hearted refusal to assist the Queen of Spain in the preservation of peace. Nothing can be more disgusting than his sniveling, hypocritical pretense that he highly appreciates the Queen's desire for peace. These words in the mouth of an honest man would convey the idea that peace is a most desirable condition, that peace is a consummation devoutly to be wished, that peace is a blessing to the world and to the inhabitants thereof. From the lips of William McKinley they are nothing but an empty, false and hollow conventionalism. If William McKinley really appreciated the Queen's desire for peace why did he not, as soon as he received the dispatch from Woodford, send a message to Congress declaring that as American charity had furnished an abundant supply of food to the starving Cubans, and as the Queen of Spain had stopped the war, there was every reason to hope for an early settlement of pending difficulties? With that hope predominating there could be no occasion whatever for even the semblance of military action.

But McKinley said he could not assume to influence the action of the American Congress beyond the discharge of his constitutional duty in transmitting the whole matter to them with such recommendation as he deemed necessary and expedient. It was hardly

necessary for William McKinley to inform Stewart L. Woodford, or any other intelligent American citizen, that the Constitution of the United States limited the power of the President to the performance of certain specified duties. And it would have been entirely unnecessary to inform any intelligent citizen that notwithstanding the limitations of Presidential power the President of the United States has become an absolute monarch or absolute despot who holds the Western Continent in the hollow of his hand, and who is backed up by an obsequious Congress that stands ready at all times to indorse any line of action that he may suggest in regard to our relations with feebler powers.

As a matter of fact, at the very moment when William McKinley was dictating this reply to Woodford there was lying before him on his table a message which he informs Woodford he intended to send to Congress the next day. The message was not sent till the 11th of April, 1898, and when read in Congress it proved to be a recommendation for an immediate attack upon Spain without waiting for the formality of a declaration of war. A week later, on the 18th of April, 1898, McKinley sent a message to Congress, requesting a declaration of war against Spain. If William McKinley could constitutionally recommend war, why could he not, if he had the heart and soul and conscience of a true, genuine man, recommend peace according to the prayer of the Queen of Spain? But why was it that William McKinley desired war? It was because he believed that the wicked, wanton shed-

ding of human blood would endear him to the hearts of the American people, who would as a consequence rally to his political support with a zeal and a zest that would insure his triumphant re-election to the Presidency.

In the telegram that Stewart L. Woodford sent to William McKinley there is an item or an expression that deserves notice. It would seem that Mr. Woodford cut an entirely creditable figure in all the dealings between the United States and Spain. When he was appointed minister to Spain in 1897 we believe that he was instructed by the American government to endeavor to cultivate a spirit of friendship between the two nations. At that time there was no perceptible war feeling to challenge attention as a possible factor in the future of American politics. The Satanic Press had not as yet got in its deadly work. Mr. Woodford was faithful to his trust. He seems to have won the confidence and esteem of the Spanish authorities. And when the sky was darkened with portents of the coming storm the Spanish government turned to him for assistance. The Queen of Spain either in person or through her ministry conferred with Mr. Woodford, informed him of the coming proclamation and practically begged him to intercede with William McKinley in their behalf. It was in that intercession that Mr. Woodford dropped the words to which we refer:

“I believe that the Queen’s proclamation means “peace, which the sober judgment of the American

“people will approve long before November, and
“which must be approved at the bar of history.”

The words “before November” really mean before the coming November election, and the use of these words shows that Woodford fully understood the utter selfishness, the unappeasable and conscienceless greed that inspired the course of William McKinley. With William McKinley at that juncture the dominant question, the grand question, was this: Will the slaughter of thousands and tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of innocent and helpless men, women and children strengthen my grasp on political power in the United States? William McKinley decided the question for himself in the affirmative, and he accordingly plunged the country into war. Stewart L. Woodford did not fail to understand that the motive that prompted William McKinley was a desire for political power, and that in order to achieve this power he was prepared to sacrifice any amount of human life. Stewart L. Woodford correctly sized up his man. Stewart L. Woodford read William McKinley through and through. Stewart L. Woodford dropped his plummet to the lowest levels of William McKinley’s black heart, and with God-given intuition and with mathematical certainty figured up the cubic contents of that ocean of iniquity that heaved and surged in William McKinley’s murderous and murderer’s soul.

EXPANSION.

The advocates and supporters of the piratical attack upon Spain attempt to gloss over their iniquity by af-

firming that the part played by the United States in the affair was a divinely-appointed step in the process of American expansion. They claim it was the same principle and policy of expansion that has made our country the Queen of the Western Continent and that is yet to make her Queen of the World. Their motto is: "Westward the Star of Empire takes its way."

But what is *legitimate* expansion? What is a *legitimate* method of extending territorial area over which a nation may exercise governmental control? This question can be promptly answered by referring to the experience and history of this North American Continent during the past two or three hundred years. If any nation finds upon its borders, north, south, east or west, a vast area of unoccupied and unclaimed territory with rich agricultural and mineral resources that no attempt has ever been made to develop, then that nation may properly take possession of that territory and throw it open for settlement by industrious and energetic men. It is foreign to our purpose to enter upon any discussion as to the justice or injustice of the white man in his dealings with the Indian. That is no longer a living issue, inasmuch as the Indians have nearly all disappeared. And the most rigid moral theorist would hardly insist that a handful of savages, but a few degrees removed from beasthood, were entitled to keep the face of the American continent in the condition of an eternal wilderness when there were so many white men ready to assist in making it blos-

som like the rose. The rapid increase in the number of the whites and the rapid wasting away of the Indians would naturally result in a steady migration to the westward. But this form of expansion is already a thing of the past as far as the United States are concerned. There is no longer any unclaimed territory. There is not a square rod of soil on the North American Continent which is not covered by some flag that is recognized, world over, as an emblem of authority. The advance guard of American migration reached the shores of the Pacific more than sixty years ago, and during the intervening period has looked hopelessly westward across a wilderness of waters five thousand miles in breadth to a continent that is Mongolianized beyond redemption, and populated to the verge of starvation. A Caucasian soldiery might set foot on the soil of Eastern Asia, but a colony of Caucasian laborers with their wives and children who should seek to make homes for themselves and their posterity in that distant land, might possibly escape immediate death by violence but they would most assuredly suffer complete extinction by the horrid pangs of hunger.

And yet there are magnificent openings for legitimate expansion that may yet come within reach of the United States. If the people of Canada should divide their country into a number of states, and then request the American government to receive these states into the American Union on a footing of perfect equality with the other states the American people should welcome and accept the proposition with a unanimous

and most enthusiastic vote in the affirmative. The Canadian people are a free and independent people, having the same language, manners and customs and institutions as the people of the United States, thoroughly experienced in self-government, and capable of managing their domestic affairs and maintaining domestic tranquillity without the aid of a single professional soldier. If the people of Australia and of New Zealand should divide their territory into a number of states, and then request the American government to receive these states into the American Union that proposition should be instantly and joyfully accepted. As the people of these distant regions are of the same stock, the same race, the same blood, the same faith, the same tongue as the progenitors of the American people, and as they are every whit as free as ourselves they would blend with us into one fraternal unit, one harmonious whole.

We may say, then, that there are but two methods of expansion which civilized, enlightened and conscientious men should think of tolerating. One of these methods is the acquisition of unoccupied, unclaimed territory. The second method is the free and independent and voluntary blending together of peoples who are kindred by birthright—kindred and brethren by ties of blood. It should be observed that these two methods of expansion do not require any resort to violence or war. And in the good time coming when we shall have a Government of the World clothed with authority to settle all disputes be-

tween nations, then that Government of the World should have power to grant national independence to any and all races of men who show good and sufficient reason for requesting such grant. Then we should have no more Polands, and no more Finlands, and no more Philippines, and no more Porto Ricos held in subjection by greedy, grasping, brutal conquerors. A new-born nation should no more be called upon to fight its way to existence than a young man of twenty-one years of age should be required to whip or kill his father in order to be considered legally capable of transacting his own business.

But the expansion for which so many Americans shouted enthusiastically in 1898 was an affair of a very different character. That expansion was the climax of human wickedness. That expansion was accomplished by conquering, trampling down, subjugating and enslaving the people of another nation, race or tribe. The events that transpired in 1898 were but the manifestations of the same spirit that prompted the wholesale murderers, the moral monsters of bygone ages, to ravage the face of the earth with fire and sword. Napoleon Bonaparte was a successful expansionist, who for nearly twenty years kept the continent of Europe in an incessant turmoil of war in his efforts to force the nations to submit to his authority. Alexander the Great, whose forces hewed their way through all opposition from the shores of the Mediterranean to the bounds of India, was another expansionist. Genghis Khan, whose Tartar

hosts swept the Old World from the Sea of Japan six thousand miles westward to the heart of Russia, and who is said to have destroyed one hundred walled cities, and to have put to death five millions of human beings without regard to age or sex, is a most notable exemplar of the style of expansion that was popular in the United States in 1898.

We will look a little more closely at this matter of expansion as an alleged beneficial rule of action in national affairs. We will suppose that we have before us a map of Europe, in which the boundary lines of all the countries are clearly and accurately drawn. We will suppose that one or more of the European powers has become possessed of a mania for "expansion," caught possibly by infection from the United States. We will suppose that this mania calls for the acquisition of European territory. It will be seen at once that no European nation can secure an expansion of its domains without taking possession of territory belonging to another power. If one nation expands, then the area of the dominions of another nation must contract and shrink. Such expansion will evoke deadly hostility. Expansion, then, is endless contention, endless strife, endless violence, endless crime. Expansion is robbery. It is piracy. It is wholesale murder. It is the outgrowth of total human depravity, of ancestral human beastliness.

Nevertheless, the war policy that resulted in the conquest of the Philippines had its eulogists. A

prominent man in California, in a speech delivered on May 1, 1899, used the following language:

"The white man's destiny has been one of progress and expansion. No man and no political party or national administration has been forcible enough to stop man's westward march to empire. Expansion was not a new principle in American history. It has been taught from the beginning. Jefferson practised it. That great statesman knew that when a free people stood still they died. Expansion is a necessity to national defense, national growth, national glory and national freedom. Nothing can stop our national expansion except our national destruction."

Here we have an exhibition of demagogical rant, of the cheapest, emptiest, most worthless character. What is the meaning of the expression, "When a free people stood still they died"? Does it mean that if any one nation refrains from aggressive warfare upon neighboring powers, and refrains from robbing neighboring powers of their possessions, then the people of that one nation will speedily become extinct? Does it mean that if universal peace were to reign now, henceforth and forevermore throughout the world the human race would disappear from the face of the earth? Hardly. The expression, if it means anything, probably means that if a nation were to sheathe its sword and abandon a career of aggression and crime it would be smitten and stricken by a combination of enemies in whom the spirit of insatiable human

greed and insatiable human bloodthirstiness was active and dominant. The expression probably means that all mankind are doomed to a living hell of endless warfare in which those who do not gain the victor's crown must wear the victim's chains. But the average man cherishes no such pessimistic views. The average man cherishes the fond faith that the good time coming will ultimately come along.

But we are further informed that no earthly power can stop man's westward march to empire. We beg leave to say that man's westward march to empire is already stopped. The surges of the mighty Pacific, as they beat in ceaseless rhythm on the shores of the American continent, distinctly reaffirm the solemn fiat, "Thus far and no farther shalt thou come." Starting from any point in California or Oregon or Washington and sailing west, we reach Japan, with its forty-five millions of people. We reach Corea, with its fifteen millions of people. We reach Manchuria, with its twenty millions. Does any one imagine that it will be nothing more than a pleasurable holiday picnic for the American nation to subjugate this eighty millions of people and hold them in bondage? Did not Russia make some attempt of that character, and was she not glad to abandon the task? And next door to us we would find three or four hundred millions of Chinese people. What millions upon millions of soldiers would the American nation be obliged to send forth in order to effect the permanent conquest and occupancy of the Chinese Empire! What strenuous effort

would be required to move the American Star of Empire westward till it stood over the geographical center of all the regions inhabited by a Mongolian population!

But no American migration whatever would follow the "Star of Empire" in such a course. No American workingman would go to China to accept the miserable pittance in the shape of wages, to accept the scanty, meager and repulsive diet, to accept the narrow, pinched, destitute, comfortless mode of life that has been the inevitable lot of the Chinese laborer for untold ages. There is absolutely no opening whatever for planting an American colony on the continent or islands of Asia. On the north we find the frozen, inhospitable shores of the Arctic Ocean. On the south we have the pestilential, fever-breeding swamps of the Torrid Zone, where death stares every white settler in the face. The central portions of the continent are occupied by countless swarms of locust-like human beings who ravenously devour every green thing and every live thing that the earth puts forth. No, the American Star of Empire will cease all oscillations and will hang serenely over the village on the banks of the Potomac which derives its name from the Father of his Country.

COMMERCIAL EXPANSION.

It was persistently claimed that the military subjugation of the Philippine Islands would result in a vast enlargement of American commerce. At a

banquet given in San Francisco in the early part of 1899 to President Harper of Chicago University the people present were favored with an address by Whitelaw Reid, who used the following words:

“Expansion means for San Francisco a future in
“the next century whose immensity is only to be
“guessed at now. China, with its 300,000,000
“people, is awakening from a sleep of a thousand
“years. With our outposts planted at her door,
“what may not San Francisco hope for, when that
“giant calls for what this country can supply? I
“think I can see a commerce on the waters of the
“Pacific greater than the Atlantic has ever known,
“a San Francisco which shall rival New York. The
“Pacific will be a lake on whose surface will sail a
“fleet larger than that which now dots the other
“great ocean.”

This address called forth comments from a local writer, who thus expressed himself:

“The ideas of Mr. Reid are by no means a novelty.
“They are to be heard on every hand. They are
“supposedly a knock-down argument which every
“expansionist has up his sleeve somewhat after the
“manner of a slung-shot. The sapient individual
“who now holds down the gubernatorial chair of
“the State of California indulged in more or less
“of that kind of talk in the late campaign. The
“President of the San Francisco Chamber of Com-
“merce has given us glowing pictures of the com-
“mercial benefits that will result from the massacre

“ of the Filipinos. But nevertheless these state-
“ ments and predictions are the emptiest and
“ thinnest of all possible trash. They are nonsense,
“ pure and unadulterated. They are the product of
“ combined idiocy and mendacity.

“ Look for a moment at our trade across the
“ Atlantic. It is the greatest transoceanic trade
“ the world has ever seen. A thousand million
“ dollars' worth of products pass to and fro every
“ year between the United States and Europe. But
“ is this traffic the result of any wild expansion
“ craze such as our unprincipled and brutal dema-
“ gogues are now fanning and fostering? Did our
“ fathers fifty or seventy-five or a hundred years
“ ago deem it necessary to wage war upon the
“ European nations and 'plant outposts' at their
“ doors? Did they seize upon the Hebrides or
“ Shetland Islands in order to secure access to the
“ port of Liverpool? Did they enter the Baltic and
“ Mediterranean Seas and wrest the Island of Goth-
“ land from Sweden, or the Island of Corsica from
“ France, or the Island of Sardinia from Italy, in
“ order to facilitate trade with these countries?
“ These questions require no answer. Nothing of
“ the kind was ever dreamed of, and nothing of the
“ kind would have been of the slightest use or the
“ slightest benefit. On the contrary, such action
“ would have been of serious detriment to all com-
“ mercial interests. Trade is encouraged by peace
“ and paralyzed by war. Our transatlantic trade is

“based on the circumstance that the hungry people
“of the Old World were anxious to purchase our
“surplus food products, and were glad to pay for
“them in manufactured goods. That trade grew to
“its present mighty proportions during the eighty
“years of profound peace that prevailed between
“the United States and the nations of Europe.

“And it is precisely in the same peaceful manner,
“and in no other manner, that our Pacific trade is
“to be developed if that trade is to rival the Atlantic
“trade in magnitude. As a matter of fact, we have
“had at all times full and free opportunities in that
“direction. An American vessel laden with the
“products of California can sail westward through
“the Golden Gate and crossing the Pacific or Indian
“Ocean can enter any port from Cape Town to
“Petropaulovski without let or hindrance. We are
“everywhere placed in the position of the most
“favored nations. Wherever the ships of any other
“nation can go, American ships can go. We are at
“full liberty to visit the markets of Asia and buy
“or sell what we please. The Asiatics are at full
“liberty to visit the markets of America, and buy
“or sell what they please. And all this we have
“without war. We have no more occasion to seize
“upon and occupy any portion of Asiatic soil than
“the Asiatics have to seize upon and occupy any
“portion of American soil. It can not be shown
“that the wicked conquest of the Filipinos will ever

“add one cent to the legitimate trade of San Francisco.”

THE WICKED WAR UPON THE FILIPINOS.

We can not properly close our work without adverting to the Filipino War. We have persistently maintained in these pages that the war upon Spain was a most unnecessary and most iniquitous crime. We shall further claim that the Filipino War was a most unnecessary and most iniquitous adjunct to the crime of the Spanish War. There was a vast difference between the situation and state of affairs in the Island of Cuba and the situation and state of affairs in the Philippine Islands. It may be said that the Island of Cuba was a purely Spanish country. The title to every acre of land in Cuba was derived from grants made by the king of Spain, just as the title to every acre of land in Massachusetts or Virginia or Georgia was derived from grants made by the king of England. The only language spoken in Cuba was the Spanish. The people of Cuba were of purely Spanish origin, with the exception of the negroes whose ancestors were brought from Africa as slaves, just as the people of the English colonies in North America were of English origin with the exception of the negroes whose ancestors had been brought from Africa as slaves. Cuba was therefore essentially an integral portion of the Spanish Empire,—essentially a province of Spain and subject to the authority of the Spanish government.

Of course it is understood that allegiance to government in all lands and all ages is qualified by the rule laid down in the American Declaration of Independence. That rule declares that whenever a government becomes destructive of the rights of the people then the people are justified in altering or abolishing that government and creating a new one. A hundred years ago in these United States the expression, the "right of revolution" was in every man's mouth. We hear nothing of it now.

But the situation in the Philippine Islands was entirely different. The Philippine Islands were never a Spanish country. The Spanish never constituted one out of a thousand of the total population of the islands. The Spanish were a mere handful of intruders and invaders, not to say pirates and robbers, who landed on the shores of the islands and by reason of the fact that they were possessed of more deadly weapons than the natives were enabled to obtain a foothold. It is true that the course pursued by the Spanish in this matter did not differ from the course pursued by other European nations in similar circumstances. After Columbus had mapped out a path across the ocean every monarch in Europe seemed to imagine that if he sent forth a military and naval expedition to explore the earth's surface he was entitled to take forcible possession of any and all new countries he might discover. And if the native Filipinos had been accommodating enough, upon the arrival of the Spanish, to have

wasted away and disappeared and died after the manner in which the North American Indians died upon the advent of the white man then the Spanish would probably have been left in sole and undisputed occupancy of the soil of the islands. But the so-called inferior races are not always ready to vacate the surface of the earth. The inferior races are not always in a hurry to crawl under the sod to escape from the white man. The American people have found to their sorrow that the negroes will not die off in the presence of the whites. And there is no reason for supposing that the Japanese or the Chinese or the Hindoos or the Malays will be any more obliging than the negroes in this respect.

The Filipinos are in the Philippine Islands to stay. They have always been there. They probably always will be there. The soil of those islands is their heritage handed down to them by their ancestors from the remotest generation. The soil of the Philippines never belonged to the king of Spain. It never belonged to the Spanish government. It never belonged to the Spanish people. According to international law, which is nothing more nor less than crystallized piracy, it may have been the case that Spain had a title to the Philippine Islands as against any other foreign nation, but she never had a shadow of a title as against the Filipinos themselves. During the three or four hundred years of Spanish occupancy of portions of these islands there was never a moment when the

Filipinos were not entitled to rise in force and sweep the corporal's guard, the beggarly baker's dozen, of Spanish adventurers into the sea. Nay, in the very year 1898, when William McKinley in furtherance of his fiendish scheme to plunge the American nation into a wicked war, and by gratifying the human thirst for human blood to make votes for his re-election to the presidency of the United States—when William McKinley in furtherance of this scheme sent troops to the Philippine Islands, he found that the people of those islands had achieved the freedom of nearly all their ancestral territory, and had driven the few remaining Spanish troops to take refuge behind fortifications to escape destruction.

And when the American forces first reached the Philippine Islands it was the clear and obvious duty of William McKinley to direct his military and naval officers to issue proclamations declaring it to be the intention of the government of the United States to establish and guarantee and insure the personal liberties and the national independence of the people of those islands. But William McKinley did nothing of the kind. William McKinley was not in search of the path of duty. It may be said that he could not be relied upon to perform any duty whatever that involved the possibility of the sacrifice of his personal interests. In matters political he never undertook to row his boat against the stream. He was at all times pre-

pared to float with the current of the wickedest, the most brutal, the most despicable popular sentiment, if that current gave promise of conveying him to the haven of political success. He believed that the American people were animated by a spirit of insatiable greed for power over other nations, and he believed that he would propitiate that wicked greed by attacking and subjugating and enslaving innocent and helpless peoples. In killing Filipinos he was looking for American votes. He got them.

When the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain had received its final ratification William McKinley should have promptly sent a message to Congress urging the adoption of educational measures.

EDUCATIONAL MESSAGE.

"To the Congress of the United States:

"The termination of the war with Spain has left
 "upon our hands the Philippine Islands and the
 "islands of Cuba and Porto Rico. The people of
 "these islands are entitled to life, liberty and the
 "pursuit of happiness. They are entitled to inde-
 "pendence and self-government. But as they have
 "been kept in a condition of ignorance and degra-
 "dation for centuries there is room for grave doubt
 "as to their capacity to establish self-government
 "without assistance. I deem it the duty of the
 "American people to render such assistance. And
 "the effectual means of accomplishing this grand

“ scheme of beneficence is to secure the diffusion
“ of popular intelligence among the inhabitants of
“ these islands. I therefore recommend the appro-
“ priation of twenty million dollars per annum from
“ the United States Treasury for the support of an
“ effective educational system in the Philippine
“ Islands, and an appropriation of ten million dol-
“ lars per annum for a similar object in Cuba and
“ Porto Rico. It is understood that the public
“ schools in the Philippine Islands have been closed
“ for a number of years on account of the war be-
“ tween the native Filipinos and the Spanish gov-
“ ernment. This being the case, the cause of edu-
“ cation must be in a deplorable condition. The
“ public schools should be immediately re-opened,
“ and the properly qualified native teachers should
“ be re-employed at a rate of wages decidedly in
“ advance of the scanty remuneration they received
“ in former years. Normal schools and colleges
“ should be established, in order that the talented
“ youth among the Filipino people should have an
“ opportunity to obtain the highest grade of quali-
“ fication for service in the profession of teaching.
“ Commodious schoolhouses, adapted to climatic
“ conditions, should everywhere be erected. Text-
“ books should be printed in the different native
“ languages and distributed free of cost to pupils of
“ the schools. A board of education commissioners
“ should be appointed, in the hope of infusing some-
“ what of the vigor and force and effectiveness of

“ American schools into the schools of our tropical
 “ regions.

“ After the expulsion of the Spanish from Fili-
 “ pino soil the only valid excuse which Americans
 “ can plead for remaining in the Philippine Islands
 “ is the hope and desire of rendering some sub-
 “ stantial service to the Filipino people. As every
 “ strong and duty-loving member of the human
 “ family is bound in case of need to extend a helping
 “ hand to a feeble and suffering fellow-man, so is
 “ every powerful and prosperous nationality on
 “ earth under moral obligation to encourage the
 “ weaker and less-enlightened races to enter upon the
 “ path of improvement and progress. If the presence
 “ of Americans can not be rendered conducive to the
 “ interests, the welfare and development of the Fil-
 “ ipino people then we should evacuate their territory
 “ at once.

(Not Signed) “WILLIAM McKINLEY.”

No person familiar with the current of events in these United States for ten years subsequent to the year 1897 would imagine for a moment that such noble sentiments as are expressed in this supposed message could possibly emanate from an individual so weak and worthless and selfish as William McKinley. But it may be urged that the government of the United States has already accomplished a noble work in the matter of educating the Filipino people, having sent shiploads of American teachers to the

Philippine Islands to labor in the Filipino schools. We beg leave to say that the government of the United States has practically done nothing in the line of educating the Filipino people. The Philippine Islands are governed by the Philippine commission, the members of which are appointed by the President of the United States. The Philippine commission is clothed with authority as absolute and unquestioned and despotic as that which the Czar of Russia or the Sultan of Turkey exercise in their dominions. The Philippine commission has appointed American teachers to positions in the Filipino schools, but the salaries of these teachers are paid with money collected at the bayonet's point from the pockets of the poverty-stricken Filipino people. It is said that the American teachers in the Philippine Islands are paid one hundred dollars per month for their services. It is also said that the native teachers, previous to the war, were paid from six to fifteen dollars per month. If we assume that the native teachers received an average of ten dollars per month for their services we shall find that the American teacher receives ten times as much salary as did the Filipinos. And the money is worse than wasted. If an American teacher who does not know a word of the Filipino languages is put in charge of a class of Filipino pupils, no one of whom knows a single word of English, will somebody explain to us the process by means of which an interchange of ideas can be effected? Even if the teacher should write simple English words and simple and

brief English sentences, and should by signs give directions to the pupils to imitate his writing, not one of them would understand the meaning. All children should be taught to read in the vernacular of their own country and of their own homes, and their first teachers should be persons born to the use of the same language.

If five thousand Japanese teachers, or five thousand Russian teachers, or five thousand Filipino teachers were to drop down upon the State of California, if not one of these foreign teachers were to understand a single word of the English language, if they were to displace the California teachers now in charge of our public schools, if they were to receive salaries ten times as large as the salaries now paid to California teachers, if this vast increase in expenses were to be met by increased state taxation on property, if our system of public instruction were to be thus paralyzed and rendered a farce and a fraud and a sham, if our system of public instruction were thus to drop in value to a level a hundred points below zero, the people of California would not feel like breaking out in joyful thanksgivings of praise to Almighty God for the infinite love and wisdom and mercy thus exhibited in graciously vouchsafing to them such inestimable blessings.

But if the rulers of the American people at that juncture had been possessed of a spirit of justice and duty and right that would prompt them to establish a genuine and effective system of public education for

the benefit of the children of the nations and races that had been victimized by the war, what a glorious new era and glorious historical era would have dawned upon the world! Here we would have the amazing spectacle of a conquering nation caring for the children of its victims as kindly, as benevolently, as liberally as it would for its own children. The whole world would have rendered obeisance to the moral grandeur of this action, and would have been shamed into the adoption of a similar policy in similar circumstances. And when all the people of the world were wrought up to such a standard of moral excellence it would require but a turn of the hand to induce them to abolish all war forever. But William McKinley would not have lifted a finger or uttered a syllable in favor of appropriating American money for the purpose of educating Filipino children. He would have feared that such a policy would meet with a strong undercurrent of opposition, and he would have feared that that undercurrent would sweep his political craft upon the rocks, a hopeless wreck. William McKinley did not propose to lose votes by doing the right when there was a fine opening to make votes by doing the wrong.

But the crowning crime, the towering crime, of William McKinley in connection with the Philippine Islands was his wicked destruction of the natural, God-given liberties of the people, and the horrid wholesale slaughter he committed in the process of subjugating and enslaving the country. There was

but one possible excuse for the act of William McKinley in landing American soldiers on Filipino soil. He had commenced war upon Spain. This, of itself, was an act of supremest wickedness, as we have persistently maintained in all these pages. But as war had been inaugurated it was entirely in accordance with universal usage that Americans should strike at a Spanish head wherever it was seen. It was known that there was more or less of a Spanish naval and military force in the Philippine Islands. An American expedition was sent there, and Spanish power was speedily annihilated. The last Spaniard having been driven away, the obvious duty of the Americans was to evacuate Filipino territory immediately. There was absolutely no justification or excuse whatever for American usurpation of authority over Filipino people or Filipino territory. All persons and all peoples and all countries are naturally and properly free, and any abridgment or curtailment or limitation of that freedom is a matter that demands explanation, if not prompt remedy. The Declaration of Independence affirms that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. If that statement was true when made by the American Fathers in 1776 it is true to-day. If that statement is true no man has any right to enslave and chattelize another man, and to force that slave to work like an ox in the field or to sell that slave like an ox in the market. If the statement of the fathers be true then

no nation or race or tribe has any right to subjugate and enslave the people of another race or nation and to rob the conquered people of the fruits of their industry by any system of pillage or extortion or taxation or imposts.

As there is no Government of the World to exercise authority in affairs between nations William McKinley should have resorted to consultation with the leading powers of the earth. He should have addressed a note to the rulers of each and every one of the so-called civilized nations. He should have informed them that in his opinion the people of the Philippine Islands were as fully entitled to freedom as were the people of the United States. He should have declared that the weakness of a nation or a people furnished no excuse whatever for any encroachment upon their independence by stronger powers. He should have stated that as the Spanish had been for generations and centuries the sole repository of political power in the Philippine Islands the sudden departure of the Spanish had left the islands without any body of men accustomed to the exercise of governmental authority. He could properly have stated that in order to remedy this deficiency he intended to select reliable, capable, well-known and influential Filipinos to act as an advisory body in governmental affairs. Most especially should he have declared his intention to make liberal expenditures of money for the purpose of affording the best possible education to every Filipino child in order that the next generation of Filipinos might come

upon the stage of action fully equipped for the discharge of the duties of life. He should have further asserted his design to evacuate the Philippine Islands as soon as the Filipino people had made such progress in the march of improvement as would insure them against any danger of retrogression to their former condition of ignorance and bondage. He should also have expressed the hope that the rulers of the nations would indicate their approval of the policy he proposed to pursue, and would also have the goodness to suggest improvements in details of that policy.

But William McKinley was not man enough to express sentiments of this character. He was not man enough to cherish such sentiments. He believed that popularity and influence and political power were more effectually gained by pandering to the bestiality of the human race. He believed that next to the love for shedding human blood the strongest passion in the breast of the human animal was an insatiable greed for power and for spoils. He believed that if ten millions of Filipino captives, manacled and chained, were paraded before the admiring eyes of the American people the spectacle would evoke an irrepressible outburst of popular enthusiasm that would render him absolute master of the political situation. William McKinley knew that every nation and race of men on earth delights to feel under its feet the squirming of the peoples it has trampled down, and he also knew that his surest means of obtaining personal and political success was to stimulate and intensify the in-

born and inevitable brutishness and bestiality of the human animal.

We will illustrate the situation as between William McKinley and Spain. Near your residence is a dilapidated shanty, a mere, miserable hovel, occupied by an old woman, eighty years of age, crippled, paralytic, bed-ridden, helpless. You make an attack upon that hovel. You kick down the door. You rush in. You drag that old woman from her bed. You jump upon her and trample out her life. And then when her eye is glazing and the blood is oozing from her mouth you proudly strut back and forth beside the still quivering corpse and pat yourself on the breast and say:

"See what a noble, brave and patriotic American I am! Vote for me next election."

You then proceed to rifle the pockets of the dead in search of money and valuables as an "indemnity" for the damage you have received in wetting your boots in the blood of your victim, and then conclude your "glorious display" by raising the American flag over the spot and declaring that no true American would consent that that flag should ever be pulled down.

Your attitude in this matter is exactly identical in every respect with the attitude of William McKinley toward Spain in regard to Cuba.

If William McKinley had possessed the slightest spark of that conscientiousness, that spirit of philanthropy and humanity and charity that he falsely and hypocritically claimed to be the motive power that prompted him to act in Cuban affairs, he would have

registered a solemn oath before God, angels and men that he would not allow these United States to acquire one square inch of territory or one iota or scintilla of material advantage in any form or shape as a result of the prosecution of the war for the relief of Cuban suffering. To give emphasis and effect and world-wide publicity to his declarations on this point he should have requested Congress to give him permission to hold a mass meeting on the steps of the National Capitol. He should have invited the members of Congress to attend that meeting as individuals. He should have invited the members of the Supreme Court to attend in official form. He should have invited the diplomatic body. He should have invited all national and state officials and all citizens.

In the presence of this vast assemblage he should have declared that war is a relic of the bestiality, the savagery, the barbarism of the human race. He should have declared that the gravest, the most vital problem that confronts mankind is the devising of ways and means to abolish all wars forever. But while the total extirpation of war may not yet be within our reach much may be done to diminish the amount of the miseries, the horrors, the destruction, the murder that war produces. One of the great evils which attend a prolonged military conflict between nations is to be found in the fact that the original cause of the war is often overlooked or forgotten. New issues are raised. New claims and demands are made. Animosities wax fiercer and fiercer, and take deeper root in the hearts

of the parties to the contest. William McKinley should have declared that in order to avert this evil it should be the duty of every nation issuing a proclamation of war to fully and clearly announce the objects of that war, and to further announce that with the attainment of these objects the war should immediately be terminated. In accordance with this rule William McKinley should have declared that the sole and only object of the proposed attack upon Spain was to relieve the sufferings of the people of Cuba. He should have accordingly pledged himself that as soon as the object of the war was attained he would issue orders that all military and naval operations should cease, and that a peace conference should immediately assemble. He should have further pledged himself that he would not allow the government of the United States to obtain, secure or hold anything in the nature of what may be termed prizes of war. He would not allow the government of the United States to obtain anything by land or by sea; no property, no goods, no chattels, no rights, no privileges, no powers. He would not allow any American force, occupying any portion of Spanish soil, to bring back therefrom as much as a single chip, not as much as a leaf from a tree, not as much as a grain of sand from the seashore. William McKinley should have announced his readiness to take an oath to conduct the proposed war upon Spain in accordance with the lines of limitation he had laid down, and he should have invited the Supreme Court of the United States to administer such oath to

him then and there. He should have further announced his intention to send a message to Congress stating that he would not approve of any declaration of war against Spain unless that declaration specifically pledged the American Congress to the observance and enforcement of these same lines of limitation.

As a matter of course such action on the part of William McKinley would be entirely devoid of any legal weight or bearing or authority, but it would have a most potent moral effect upon the entire world. All mankind would intuitively recognize the wisdom and justice of a rule of action that should require every proclamation of war to be accompanied with a complete and clear statement of the objects of that war, and also to be accompanied with a specific pledge that the war should terminate the moment its objects were attained. And if all wars were to terminate as soon as their avowed objects were accomplished then the war upon Spain in regard to Cuba would have stopped before it commenced, for all Cuban sufferings had been fully relieved before William McKinley ordered the first shot to be fired. William McKinley himself admits this fact in the message which he sent to Congress on April 11, 1898. We have already noted this admission in these pages.

The adoption of the rule or custom that every declaration of war should be accompanied by a clear and full statement of the objects of that war would greatly expedite the coming of the day when all war shall be abandoned. When a nation has made a full

statement of the objects of a war, then the other nation, the nation thus antagonized, should have equal opportunity to make a counter statement in regard to the whole matter. And when the two nations had assumed the position of plaintiff and defendant, when they had, so to speak, filed their complaint and answer, then the world would certainly feel inclined to insist that the case should be put on trial in the Hague Court or in a World's Congress.

We have from time to time in these pages advanced suppositions as to what would have occurred under certain circumstances provided William McKinley had been actuated by an all-controlling desire to render true service to God and man. We have advanced these suppositions for the purpose of showing by way of contrast the utter iniquity of the deeds that William McKinley did perform. The character of William McKinley will be correctly read in future ages when all the horrors of war shall have become a tradition of the past. The searchlight of God's universe will yet be turned in full blaze on William McKinley's wickedness. Cold-blooded, callous-hearted, conscienceless, merciless, William McKinley sacrificed the lives of thousands and tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of innocent and helpless human beings in order to advance his own political interests. Instead of endeavoring to uplift and ennoble humanity William McKinley became the vile panderer to the universal greed, the universal bloodthirstiness, the universal beastliness which the human race of to-day

has inherited from the ferocious wild human animal of millions of years ago.

VICTOR HUGO.

In 1849 that most noble French philosopher, Victor Hugo, was elected president of the General Peace Congress which convened in Paris in that year. His inaugural address was a perfect inspiration. He alluded to the fact that several hundred years ago there were provinces and cities in France that were in a condition of perpetual warfare. These wars had been so continuous that no sane man would predict that they would ever terminate. But the wars had ceased, and there was now perfect peace and harmony between the cities and provinces where there had once been endless bloodshed. From this blissful and blessed change in the relations subsisting between the component parts of the French population and the French territory Victor Hugo argued that the great powers of earth, the component parts of the world's population and the world's territory, would yet cast aside the implements of war, and cherish and cultivate the ties of friendship and fraternity.

The American people should carefully weigh the words of Victor Hugo in order that they may be able to appreciate the wickedness of all war. It is undoubtedly true that the particular form of savagery to which Victor Hugo alludes as having desolated France in bygone centuries will never again appear among civilized nations, but the disposition to resort

to the flimsiest of pretexts for the purpose of plunging countries into foreign wars still remains.

We give the following extract from Victor Hugo's speech :

"If four centuries ago, at the period when war was
"made by one district against the other, between cities
"and between provinces ; if, I say, some one had dared
"to predict to Lorraine, to Picardy, to Normandy, to
"Brittany, to Auvergne, to Provence, to Dauphiny, to
"Burgundy: 'A day shall come when you will no
"longer make wars ; a day shall come when you will
"no longer arm men one against the other ; a day
"shall come when it will be no longer said that the
"Normans are attacking the Picards, or that the
"people of Lorraine are repulsing the Burgundians ;
"you will still have many disputes to settle, interests
"to contend for, difficulties to remove, but do you
"know what you will substitute instead of armed
"men, instead of cavalry and infantry, of cannon, of
"falconets, lances, pikes and swords—you will select,
"instead of this destructive array a small box of
"wood which you will term a ballot-box, and from
"which issue—what?—an assembly, an assembly in
"which you shall all live, an assembly which shall
"be, as it were, the soul of all, a supreme and popular
"council which shall decide, judge, resolve every-
"thing ; which shall make the sword fall from every
"hand and excite the love of justice in every heart,
"which shall say to each, "Here terminates your
"right, there commences your duty ; lay down your

“ ‘arms; live in peace.’ And in that day you will
 “ ‘have one common thought, common interests, a
 “ ‘common destiny; you will embrace each other and
 “ ‘recognize each other as children of the same blood
 “ ‘and the same race; that day you will no longer be
 “ ‘hostile tribes—you will be a people; you will no
 “ ‘longer be Burgundy, Brittany or Provence—you
 “ ‘will be France. You will no longer make appeals
 “ ‘to war, you will make appeals to civilization’; if at
 “ the period I speak of some one had uttered these
 “ words all men of serious and positive character, all
 “ prudent and cautious men, all the great politicians of
 “ the period would have cried out:

“ ‘What a dreamer! What a fantastic dream! How
 “ ‘little is this pretended prophet acquainted with the
 “ ‘human heart! What ridiculous folly! What an
 “ ‘absurd chimera!’

“ Yet, gentlemen, time has gone on and on, and we
 “ find that this dream, this folly, this absurdity, has
 “ been realized. And I insist upon this—that the man
 “ who would have dared to utter so sublime a
 “ prophecy would have been pronounced a madman
 “ for having dared to pry into the designs of the Deity.
 “ Well, then, you at this moment say—and I say it
 “ with you—we who are assembled here say to France,
 “ to England, to Prussia, to Austria, to Spain, to Italy,
 “ to Russia—we say to them:

“ A day will come when from your hands also the
 “ arms you have grasped will fall. A day will come
 “ when war will appear as absurd, and be as impos-

“ sible between Paris and London, between St. Peters-
“ burg and Berlin, between Vienna and Turin, as it
“ would be now between Rouen and Amiens, between
“ Boston and Philadelphia, between Cincinnati and St.
“ Louis. A day will come when you, France ; you, Rus-
“ sia ; you, Italy ; you, England ; you, Germany ; all of
“ you, nations of the continent, will, without losing your
“ distinctive qualities and your glorious individuality,
“ be blended into superior unity and constitute a
“ European fraternity, just as Normandy, Brittany,
“ Burgundy, Lorraine, Alsace have been blended into
“ France. A day will come when the only battlefield
“ will be the market opening to commerce and the
“ mind opening to new ideas. A day will come when
“ bullets and bombshells will be replaced by votes, by
“ the venerable arbitration of a great sovereign senate,
“ which will be to Europe what the Parliament is to
“ England, what the Diet is to Germany, what the
“ Legislative Assembly is to France. A day will come
“ when a cannon will be exhibited in public museums,
“ just as an instrument of torture is now, and people
“ will be astonished how such a thing could have been.
“ A day will come when those two immense groups,
“ the United States of America and the United States
“ of Europe, shall be seen placed in presence of each
“ other, extending the hand of fellowship across the
“ ocean, exchanging their produce, their genius, clear-
“ ing the earth, peopling the deserts, improving
“ creation under the eye of the Creator, and uniting
“ for the good of all, those two irresistible and infinite

"powers, the fraternity of men and the power of
"God."

CARDINAL GIBBONS PLEADS FOR PEACE.

On Jan. 6, 1901, Cardinal Gibbons delivered a sermon in the cathedral in Baltimore in which he reviewed briefly the events of the century just closed, with special reference to the wars which have been waged during that period, as a preface to an urgent plea for universal peace. He incidentally touched upon the subject of the proposed increase of the standing army in this country, pointing out the evil results arising from the maintenance of large bodies of armed men in Europe, and expressed the hope that similar conditions may never obtain in this country.

Cardinal Gibbons began by stating that the mission of Christ was a mission of peace. He said:

"Before the advent of Christ war was the rule,
"peace was the exception throughout the world. But
"although wars are less frequent and less inhuman
"under the Christian dispensation than in pagan
"times, it must be confessed that we are, as yet, far
"removed from the millennium of universal peace.
"When we read of a great military campaign our
"imagination revels in the contemplation of the heroic
"achievements of famous generals. We listen with
"rapture to the clash of arms, the shouts of the
"victors and the sound of martial music. We seem
"to catch the spirit of enthusiasm by which the com-
"batants were animated. But we take no note of the

“ shrieks and agonies of the soldiers weltering in their
“ blood on the battlefield. We have no thought of the
“ sick and wounded lying in hospitals and prisons. We
“ are unmindful of sorrowing wives and mothers at
“ home weeping and sighing for the loved ones far
“ away.

“ It is a subject of great concern to the friends of
“ the gospel of peace that Christian Europe presents
“ to-day the spectacle of a huge military camp. May
“ God so guide our legislators and statesmen that they
“ may never be betrayed into imitating European gov-
“ ernments by the establishment of formidable stand-
“ ing armies. God forbid that we ourselves, flushed
“ with recent victories, should ever become intoxicated
“ with the wine of imperialism or militarism, but may
“ we always follow the traditions of the fathers of the
“ republic.

“ Hitherto we have presented to the world a beauti-
“ ful spectacle. Europeans, accustomed at home to
“ meet a soldier or gendarme on every street corner,
“ have been filled with surprise and admiration when
“ they found on arriving in this country that a nation
“ of such vast extent and such an immense population
“ had an army of only 25,000 men. They have been
“ forcibly impressed with the fact that they can travel
“ from Maine to California without meeting a single
“ soldier. They see that every citizen of the United
“ States is a soldier without uniform, engaged in the
“ active pursuits of life and ready at a moment's notice
“ to defend his country. They would feel that we are

“a strong nation because we cheerfully bow to the
“majesty of the law and are not confronted and in-
“timidated by military satraps. May this fair picture
“never be defaced.

“God grant that the new century which has just
dawned upon us may inaugurate a new era of peace.”

BISHOP J. L. SPALDING ON IMPERIALISM.

At a meeting in Chicago on April 30, 1899, Bishop
Spalding of Peoria, Illinois, said:

“We are, at present, in the midst of a crisis in which
“lack of thought and deliberation may lead us far
“from the ideals which, as Americans, we have most
“cherished, and may expose us to evils of which we
“scarcely dream. We stand at the parting of the
“ways. It is not yet too late to turn from the way
“which leads through war and conquest to imperial-
“ism, to standing armies, to alliances with foreign
“powers, and finally to the disruption of the Union
“itself. It is not too late, because it is still possible—
“probable—even, that the American people will re-
“consider the whole question of the complications in
“which our victories over Spain have involved us, and
“calling to mind the fact that they did not enter into
“this war for the purpose of becoming an empire, but
“for the purpose of helping others to throw off the
“yoke of tyrannical imperialism, will see that to be
“blinded and led away by success is to be weak and
“foolish; or, rather, since here the highest interests of
“humanity are at stake, is to be wicked and criminal.
“If this may not be, then the American people have

“degenerated; they have lost their hold upon the historical causes and the political habits which led to the founding of our institutions and to the marvelous growth and prosperity of our country.

“We shall not believe that the gain of a few naval battles over a weak and unprepared foe has power to throw us into such enthusiasm or such madness as to turn us permanently from the principles and policies to which we owe our national existence, our life and liberty, or that destiny, the divinity of fatalists and materialists, can weaken our faith in the God of justice, righteousness and love, who scorns and thrusts far away those who, having the giant’s strength, use it to oppress or destroy the weak or ignorant.

“We have never looked upon ourselves as predestined to subdue the earth, to compel other nations with fire and sword to accept our rule. We have always believed in human rights, in freedom and opportunity, in education and religion, and we have invited all men to come and enjoy these blessings in this half of the world which God has given us; but we have never dreamed that they were articles to be exported and thrust down unwilling throats at the point of the bayonet. In past years we have always sympathized with oppressed peoples; but now the American soldier who should never shoulder a gun except in a righteous cause is sent 10,000 miles across the ocean to shoot men whose real crime is that they wish to be free, wish to govern themselves.

" To say that they are unfit for freedom is to put forth
 " the plea of the tyrant in all ages and all lands. The
 " enemies of liberty have never lacked for pretexts to
 " justify their wrongs; but in truth at the root of all
 " wars of conquest there lies a lust for blood or for
 " gold. If the inhabitants of the Philippines came
 " gladly to throw themselves into our arms we should
 " refuse to do more than to counsel, guide and protect
 " them until they form themselves into a stable and
 " independent government.

" A war of conquest is in contradiction with our
 " fundamental principles of government; it is opposed
 " to all our traditions. The thought of ruling over
 " subject peoples is repugnant to our deepest and
 " noblest sentiment. If it is our destiny to become an
 " empire, it is not our destiny to endure as a republic.
 " When the American people resolve not to hold what
 " they never intended to take possession of they will
 " be able to solve the Philippine difficulty without
 " waste of time."

SUNDERLAND ON IMPERIALISM.

On January 15, 1899, the Rev. J. T. Sunderland delivered a sermon in the First Unitarian Church of Oakland, Cal., in which he said:

" If a republic adopts imperialistic principles it ceases
 " to be a republic. It passes from the ranks of free-
 " dom to the ranks of tyranny. If it shall happen to
 " us that we shall adopt a colonial policy, or a system
 " of expansion, which shall be in any way imperialistic

“in character, then just so far we shall have given up
“our republican methods and principles.

“We went into the war with Spain with loud professions of altruism. We claimed that the Cubans
“were being treated in the most inhuman manner.
“We would put an end to it. We would give them
“their freedom. It was for this purpose that we
“summoned the young men of the country into the
“army. How soon the starving reconcentrados were
“forgotten! How soon did the taste of blood drive
“humanitarian feelings out of all minds! How soon
“did greed of honor and greed of power and greed
“of conquest come in and drag down the war to a
“level of which we should have been ashamed if we
“could have foreseen it at the beginning!

“When the war was over what did we do? Did we
“treat our prostrate foe with the magnanimity which
“it becomes a victorious nation to show to the van-
“quished? Did we remember our declaration that we
“had taken up arms not for conquest, but only to help
“a suffering and struggling people to liberty? No,
“on the contrary, we treated our fallen foe with a
“severity which every nation of continental Europe
“condemned, and which even England, our friend,
“thought it necessary to apologize for.

“Thus what began in altruism ended in purely
“selfish, brute conquest. We set out to do something
“noble. We told the world that we were going to do
“something noble. We were the one nation of the
“world whose republican principles and past history

“made a noble deed of such a kind something to be
 “expected. But instead of standing erect to the end
 “we bowed the knee to the Baal of unrighteousness,
 “to the Baal of the lust for conquest and the lust for
 “grasping foreign possessions. From the lofty height
 “on which we at first stood we descended to the level
 “of England in her demands for submission from
 “the conquered provinces of India. We descended
 “to the low level that might makes right.

“The treaty of peace should exhibit on our part a
 “magnanimous spirit worthy of a great and powerful
 “nation that believes in justice and liberty. The
 “treaty of peace should demand no compensation for
 “a war which we ourselves began in the name of
 “humanity. The treaty should demand that the
 “Philippines be made independent. We have no claim
 “on them, not even the poor claim of conquest.”

WAR'S ULTIMATE CESSATION.

By Rev. Thomas B. Gregory.

“Lord Byron astonished and astounded all Europe
 “one day by declaring that he would ‘mightily like to
 “know how it felt to be a murderer.’

“The noble lord was perfectly honest. He really
 “desired to experience the feelings of the man whose
 “hands were red with his brother’s blood. This does
 “not mean that Byron was a brute or a monster, but
 “only a thoroughbred human being of the masculine
 “gender, with the normal predilections of that strange
 “product of nature.

"Byron was, according to his own humble confession, 'as mild a mannered man as ever cut a throat or scuttled a ship,' and yet, because he was a thoroughbred, he wanted to know 'how it felt to be a murderer.'

"Gifted as the author of 'Childe Harold' was, he was a true lineal descendant of the 'ape and tiger man' of the aboriginal times, when human nature was one half passion and the other half ferocity.

"But to leave the noble lord and come to humanity in general, it may be said that in that humanity the tiger is everywhere apparent.

"The tiger loves blood: There is no sort of doubt about it. The king of the jungle mightily enjoys destruction for destruction's own sake. He is a great hunter, and the bigger the game the greater the enjoyment.

"It is hard to say how long it has been since man was a tiger, but to know history is to know that there is still much of the tiger in man's composition.

"Man, like the tiger, is a great hunter, and like the tiger he enjoys hunting big game. The blood of the grizzly, the blood of the elephant, the blood of the moose, pleases him immensely; but not so much as the blood of that most royal game, Man.

"In other words, man enjoys killing man. Enjoys it, I say. There is no exhilaration like that of the battlefield. Mountain air is a fair sort of tonic, champagne is a decided quickener of the heart, love's young dream is calculated to hasten the pulse some-

“what, but none of these are to be compared with the
“ game of war in which living human beings are pitted
“ against living human beings, the biggest game that
“ man can play.

“The glory with which the ages have wreathed the
“ soldier’s brow is the tribute to this indisputable fact
“ in human nature—a lamentable fact, a shameful,
“ disgraceful fact, but still a fact.

“It is the tiger in us that all the culture and refine-
“ ment and religion of thousands of years have not
“ been able to eliminate—and will not be able to
“ eliminate, perhaps, for thousands of years to come.

“The Hague has hardly more than begun its benef-
“ icent work.

“If you don’t believe that this is so, look around.
“ Behold the patent facts that on all sides challenge
“ our attention.

“See all the ‘civilized’ peoples armed to the teeth,
“ ready at a moment’s notice to spring at one another’s
“ throats—nay, hoping that the chance to spring may
“ come, and come quickly.

“Nine-tenths of the thing called ‘patriotism’ is
“ simply the couchant tiger in us, anxiously waiting
“ for the chance to lap its chops in blood.

“Look at this most ‘Christian’ nation, ‘God’s Coun-
“ try,’ with its high ideals and larger ‘sympathies’—
“ how it is honeycombed with militarism! See the
“ little boys all over the land, all dressed out in khaki,
“ with imitation guns on their shoulders, and imitation
“ sword-bayonets at their sides, marching to the sound

"of the drum—learning to be professional murderers!

"Peace Congresses are all right, but it will be a long time before their beautiful dream is realized. With the nations so many armed camps, with the President of the 'leading' nation 'killing things' just for the sake of killing them, or, what amounts to the same, just for the exhilaration of the hunt, it looks rather discouraging for the 'Dove of Peace.'

"Still, the word is —Courage. Truth and right can afford to wait, and if need be, to wait a long time. The tiger is dying slowly, but he is dying, and Peace will yet sit crowned and triumphant above the ruins that War has wrought."

The following article is an incomparable gem. It is expressed in the most beautiful language. It is thoughtful and truthful in its theories and teachings. It is cheerful and hopeful in spirit. It is sound in its conclusions. If man has developed from a germ so minute, so insignificant that it would not at this day and date be visible to the naked eye, and if from this small beginning he has risen to his present standard of physical, mental and moral force, there must be in the order of the universe an irresistible tendency to progress that will carry the human race onward and upward forever and forevermore.

THE ASCENT OF LIFE.

MAN'S SLOW PROGRESS FROM THE LOWER TO THE
HIGHER ORDER.

"The most important thing in the world is life; the
" most interesting fact in the world is life; the thing
" most sought after in the world is life; the thing least
" understood in the world is life.

"If we go out in the fields on a bright summer's day
" and look at the world about us, we shall see all nature
" teeming with life. We shall with difficulty find any-
" thing that has not life in some form. If it has not
" life in itself, it is helping to sustain life. The air
" is filled with insects which you can see, and with
" countless hosts of teeming life which you can not
" see. The ground is covered with forms of plant
" life in infinite variety. Turn up a spadeful and you
" will find it the home of many other forms of life.
" Even the rocks and ledges, most inhospitable hosts,
" one would think, are covered with clinging lichens,
" seeking with tiny rootlets their modest nourishment
" from crack and crevice. The water in the pond
" teems with life. Place a drop of it beneath the
" microscope, and you have a new world of wonders.
" You will see vegetable life and animal life. You
" will see stems of green weed, and transparent living
" mechanism at work. There is the tiny speck that
" can sail through the eye of the smallest needle, as a
" fly can sail under a railroad bridge. You may watch
" its crystal armor, flashing with every varying tint,

“ its head glorious with the halo of its quivering cilia.
“ You may see this mote ‘gliding through the emerald
“ ‘ stems, hunting for its food, snatching at its prey,
“ ‘ chasing its mate, whirling in a mad dance to the
“ ‘ sound of its own music, the music of its happiness,
“ ‘ the exquisite happiness of living.’

“Go to the great snow fields among the Alps and
“ Sierras, or in Greenland; if you know how to look
“ for it you will find plenty of life even there—plants
“ growing in arctic cold and snow, insects living a
“ happy life in drifting snow and driving sleet; birds
“ and bears and fishes in the Arctic zone who love the
“ frozen shores and icy depths; butterflies, even, of
“ peculiar kind, living where it is too cold for man
“ to dwell. A block of ice from an iceberg or from
“ one of the great glaciers of Alaska, or water from
“ the hot springs of Colorado, will reveal still other
“ forms of life. Even the damp, dark caves under the
“ earth are the abode of creatures who love their dis-
“ mal depths and could not live elsewhere. So, where-
“ ever you may go, if your eye is trained to see it, you
“ will find life in some form—above the earth, under
“ the earth, at the tropics and at the poles—every-
“ where there is life. Life is the thing most sought
“ after in the world. All things that have life are seek-
“ ing for more life; all things which have not life are
“ taken up and builded into the structure of the things
“ that have life. The rocks are attacked by water and
“ frost and wave, and forced at last to crumble little
“ by little and furnish soil. By and by tiny rootlets

“ seize upon the dead rock fragments and trans-
“ form them into living plant to become a part of its
“ life. The fishes and sea plants take up the dead and
“ earthly material of the oceans, and build it into their
“ structure as a part of their life. All things that have
“ life are seeking more life—higher life.

“ All living things, so science tells us, have their own
“ place in the great procession of life that is forever
“ advancing onward and upward. We do not know
“ when the first living organisms appeared; we do
“ not know how they appeared, just as we do not know
“ why they appeared. We only know that sometime,
“ somewhere in the childhood of the world, on the
“ strand of a summer sea, bathed by the ocean ripples
“ and the light waves they came into being. They
“ swam in the water, and by and by crept and crawled
“ in the sand. Then they lifted themselves up and
“ took to themselves wings and flew through the air,
“ uttering their joy in many kinds of song.

“ Then came the larger forms of life, roaming the
“ jungles and forests. And by and by came man—
“ man, the culmination of this development of animal
“ life; at first only an animal himself, at last develop-
“ ing powers of thought which made him king over
“ all the world. Then he developed heart power, af-
“ fection, spiritual faculties, until he dreamed of God,
“ of another life, calling himself a child of the Eternal,
“ and lifting up his soul in worship. And through
“ the ages this race of ours has progressed, until there
“ came the literatures of the world, all the forms of

“ beauty developed by art, the sounds of sweet song
“ that have attempted to utter the aspirations and hopes
“ and fears and sorrows of this mysterious human
“ heart. Thousands on thousands of years humanity
“ has climbed up, until at last it reached the heights of
“ Homer, Pericles, Aristotle, Virgil, Goethe, Shakes-
“ peare—to the more magnificent heights of Moses,
“ Confucius, Isaiah, Socrates, Buddha and the mighty
“ Nazarene. Then came the great artists of Italy, the
“ great singers of Germany, the great scientists that
“ have taught us to know our dwelling-place and are
“ beginning to teach us to know ourselves.

“ So has man climbed slowly upward out of the low-
“ er order of life into the higher order of life. But
“ not yet has he outgrown all traces of the lower life.
“ There are still survivals of his animal ancestors in
“ his physical and mental make-up. His feet are still
“ in the dust, though his head is sometimes in the
“ clouds. There is the bear, the tiger, the fox, still
“ in human nature, not altogether outgrown. But
“ he is climbing up, always out of the animal into the
“ intellect, into the heart, into the affectional nature
“ which is above selfishness. And the process of this
“ growth will go on forever as mankind rises to ever
“ higher heights of excellence.”



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